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ABSTRACT

Presented are general session and discussion group reports from a citizenship conference held in Philadelphia in May, 1946. Directed by the National Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association, the conference provided an opportunity for political, business, educational, and religious leaders to discuss benefits and responsibilities of citizenship during the period following World War II. Specific objectives of the conference were to clarify leadership responsibilities in the area of citizenship and to define the role of education in helping citizens become responsible political participants. The 50 conference speakers included college deans, superintendents of schools, the mayor of Philadelphia, government officials, members of the clergy, state governors, corporation presidents, labor leaders, senators, foundation spokesmen, and citizens council representatives. Topics discussed included characteristics of good citizenship, world community, social change, duties of citizenship, American heritage, world freedom, reasons for participating in civic affairs, human rights, the need for citizenship recognition programs, and the citizenship value of participating in the war effort. (DB)

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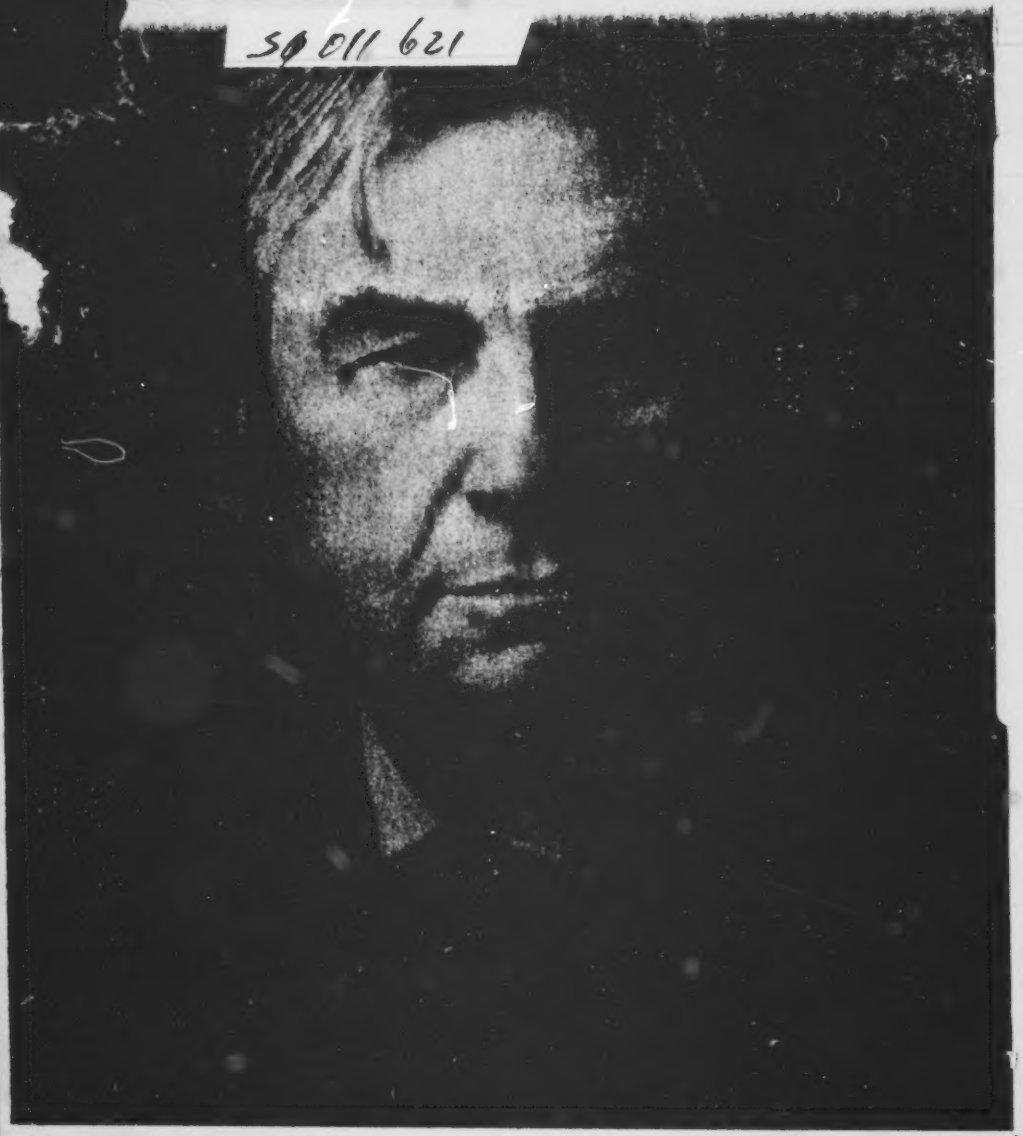

THE HONORABLE HARLAN F. STONE

*Chief Justice of the United States*

HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

Probably the last official position accepted by Chief Justice Stone was the Honorary Chairmanship of this First National Conference on Citizenship. The Chief Justice was constantly interested in all efforts to improve American citizenship and gave notable service to our cause. He was keenly interested in the success of this Conference which was dedicated to his memory.



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*FIRST*

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

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SPONSORED by the National Education Association of the United States. Called, planned, and directed by the NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE with the advice and cooperation of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE *and* the IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

MAY 17 and 18, 1946

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1201 SIXTEENTH STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1946

My dear Dr. Schlagle.

I should like to extend to you and to all the delegates of the First National Conference on Citizenship my heartiest greetings. I am confident that this conference will do much to implement and improve the standards of American citizenship in the new era before us.

Never before has citizenship meant so much to the people of this Nation as it does in the critical days that lie ahead. I think it fitting that I quote from an historic address of former President Woodrow Wilson: "A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind."

That statement was timely and significant then and it is even more so today. As one of the victorious nations our citizens face the great task of assuring that those who died in the great struggle for peace shall not have made this sacrifice in vain.

The delegates at your conference represent the great cross sections of America and I am sure that your deliberations and findings will add much to the important cause of good citizenship and good government.

Please be assured of my keen interest in the success of this conference and of its far reaching achievements.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Dr. F. L. Schlagle,
President,
National Education Association,
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

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TO EMPHASIZE the significance of citizenship . . . reminds us all that what is truly an important event in the lives of those who come from other lands to seek citizenship here, is no less important for the nation which we serve; and that upon us rests the responsibility for welcoming our new citizens with dignity and reverence in keeping with so precious an institution as American Citizenship.

—HARLAN F. STONE

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| | |
|---|---|
| Ernest O. Melby | New York University |

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## PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

BY EACH GENERATION

—the torch of liberty and freedom must be kept burning
—the responsibilities of citizenship must be discharged
—the opportunities of citizenship must be appreciated

During the war, and particularly while our armies were being most vigorously attacked, it was easy to be a good citizen. We were united by a common cause—the very existence of our nation, our way of life, our form of government.

With the coming of peace, and the rapid removal of wartime restrictions, initiatives, and commonly understandable goals, we have entered a dangerous period in our history. There are already clear signs of growing disunity, of increasing intolerance, of suspicion of leaders and of organizations, and of apparent lack of personal and group responsibility for our national welfare.

Of first importance in peacetime, as in wartime, in the success of our democracy is the need for an active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry.

The major goal of this Conference is the focusing of national attention on the value of American citizenship, together with its duties and responsibilities. From the deliberations of the eight special conference work groups, it is expected that specific and definite recommendations will come to aid the various groups in our American society in strengthening their contributions to the development of an enlightened citizenship geared to the needs of this new era.

*Freedom and democracy are never permanently secured.*
*They must be achieved anew by each generation.*



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# PROGRAM

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

May 17 and 18, 1946

## FIRST GENERAL SESSION

Friday morning, May 17, 8:30 to 9:45 a. m.

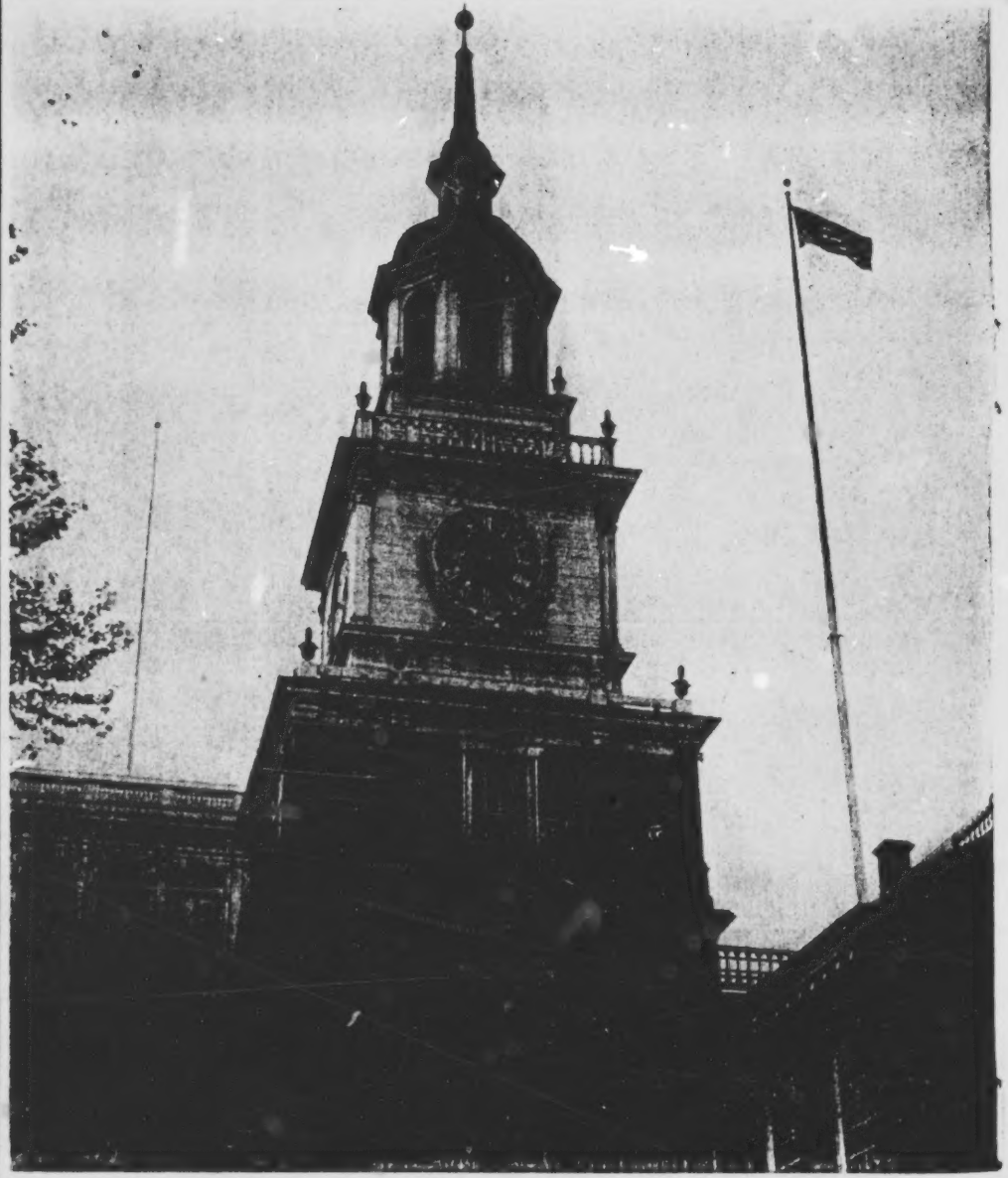
Breakfast Meeting

The Burgundy Room, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

*Presiding*

WALTER E. MYER

*President, Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C.*



*Cradle of American Liberty—Independence Hall, Independence Square, scene of the working sessions of the First National Conference on Citizenship.*



## WORKING AIMS OF THE CONFERENCE

ERNEST O. MELBY

*Dean, New York University,*
*Permanent Chairman of the Conference*

THIS CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP is being held at an exceedingly opportune time. The very way of life which has given American citizenship its truest meaning is being subjected to tests that are more severe than those of any previous period in our history. We are in the process of discovering that our way of life, though it is the most glorious ever devised by man, is also one of great responsibility and obligation. At home our country faces serious economic problems which must be solved promptly and effectively if our free institutions are to survive. In the international scene America must develop leadership which is commensurate with her power and international position. These two vast undertakings must go hand in hand if we are to have world peace and national prosperity and well-being. But in the last analysis it is the responsibility of citizenship to build a successful democratic society at home, and to make America a leader for international justice and peace. We know that it is upon education that we depend for the development of good citizenship and social effectiveness.

In the past we in America have often taken our freedom for granted. We have been quick to assert our rights and to ask our privileges, but we are often slow to assume our responsibilities, especially in the area of concern for the welfare of our fellow men. It is no secret that even in the international scene our failure to extend the benefits of freedom to millions of our citizens is proving a handicap in dealing with other countries. Other nations are at a loss to understand how a country that protests its democracy and freedom-loving qualities should fail so signally to extend the benefits of freedom to large proportions of its population. Similarly, it is hard for other countries to understand how we have want in the midst of plenty; and how it can be that with all our resources for prosperity and national well-being we seem strangely unable to come to grips with our current economic problems as, for example, that related to the housing of our people, especially the returned veteran. As American citizens we must remember that our free institutions are not God-given rights that we shall retain regardless of the way in which we accept our responsibilities. Our free institutions will live only as long as we make them work, and when we fail to make them work to the benefit of our people they will die along

with other social patterns that made similar failures. Clearly, the great responsibility of education for citizenship is to alter the thinking of boys and girls, and men and women that they will perform their duties of citizenship so as to make freedom a reality. If freedom works it will not only live in our own country but it will commend itself to people the world over. We in America thus have a double responsibility. We must make freedom a reality for our own people. We must give freedom a chance to show its dynamic and creative qualities in order that its benefits may spread to mankind as a whole. Education must give us citizens who can and will measure up to the responsibilities placed upon them by free institutions. This Conference is called to clarify our leadership in the area of citizenship. We should leave these meetings with a clear conception of our task, and a greater courage and inspiration for its successful completion.

*Opening Conference Session—Left to right: Walter E. Myer, Presiding Officer, President, Civic Education Service; Speaking, Dean Ernest O. Melby, School of Education, New York University, Permanent Chairman of the Conference.*



## SECOND GENERAL SESSION

Friday afternoon, May 17, 12:30 to 2:30 p. m.

Luncheon Meeting

Ball Room, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*Presiding*

EARL G. HARRISON

*Dean, Law School, University of Pennsylvania*

## GREETINGS

BERNARD SAMUEL

*Mayor of Philadelphia*

IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT The First National Conference on Citizenship should be held in the city of Philadelphia, because it was here our government was established and it was here the Constitution of the United States was debated and adopted and given to the world as the original Charter of Liberties.

I trust that before the delegates to the Conference depart for their homes they will visit our Shrine of Liberty and other historic buildings for which the city of Philadelphia is famed. Our city was the hub of the wheel of stirring events attending the War for Independence, and it has been in the forefront of American municipalities taking appropriate interest in fostering good citizenship.

The value of American citizenship takes on added significance in these critical times, because we have just emerged from a devastating war and are entering a new era which all liberty-loving people hope will be peaceful and prosperous. New citizens can play a most important part in the readjustment of the affairs of the world, the outcome of which means so much to all.

I extend cordial greetings to the delegates attending the Conference. I hope the sessions will be most successful and that the discussions to take place will give impetus to the movement which has for its purpose the recognition, observance, and commemoration of American citizenship.



## GREETINGS

ALEXANDER J. STODDARD

*Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia*

CITIZENS of this country can be divided into two groups: those who "consume" citizenship by always demanding their rights; and those who believe in "dynamic participation" in citizenship by meeting their obligations to the country. We must strive to be as those people who consider that citizenship is an obligation to give their services to their country; to do everything they can for everyone.

The highest type of citizens are those who do not think primarily of taking or giving. They see themselves as part of the whole country and are joining with others to make this nation a better place in which to live.

*Conference Leaders—Left to right: Fred S. Hutchins, Citizenship Committee, American Bar Association; Walter E. Myer, President, Civic Education Association; R. J. Colbert, Director, University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Community Development; Dean Ernest O. Melby, School of Education, New York University. Permanent Chairman of the Conference, Richard B. Kennan, NEA Staff Member, Citizenship Committee; and Judge Carl B. Hyatt, U. S. Department of Justice.*

# A ROAD MAP FOR THE COMMON MAN

BEN M. CHERRINGTON

*Director, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, and Special Counselor to Department of State on UNESCO*

VIEWED in the perspective of history it would appear that mankind is in the midst of the most far-reaching revolution in history. From the historical point of view the two great world wars appear to be the consequence rather than the cause of this revolution which they have endowed with such unprecedented violence. Applied science is the chief mischiefmaker. It is science that has made the world one. Frantically, belatedly, man is trying to still this revolution by bringing the world community under the reign of law and order. Obviously all men are mandated to study and understand the world organizations now being created to stabilize global society. However, there is a deeper and more important level upon which our attention must be focused. We must not only study the institutions man is building—we must study man himself. For in the last analysis this revolution is but the dynamic reaction of the human spirit to the impact of science. Everywhere, common man is stirring restlessly, powerfully. Elementary impulses are driving him and will continue to drive him until they are satisfied. There will be no calm or serenity or peace in the world until those impulses have attained reasonable equilibrium. The new day which all are seeking will come only as these basic impulses are understood and directed to constructive ends. I shall mention four today.

The first is the "hunger to belong." Until man feels himself a part of the group with which his life is associated he is ill at ease and unhappy. Once he becomes adjusted to the group the feeling of belonging brings him tremendous satisfaction. This sense of "belonging" is the cement that holds all societies together. The first task, therefore, confronting society is to make common man aware of the world community into which modern communication and transportation have drawn him. Once he has become conscious of membership in this wider community the feeling of "belonging" will be a powerful factor tending to hold the world community together. The basic job, then, is to mobilize every agency of education to the end that common man everywhere shall sense his membership in the world society and gladly accept the responsibilities of citizenship therein.

The second basic impulse is the "hunger to know." It is estimated that there are at least one billion adults in the world and of these only one in four can be said to be literate. How will it be possible in the modern in-





tegrated world to maintain the institutions of free men when three-quarters of the citizens lack the means of communication? Obviously one of the most dangerous enemies of a free and peaceful world community is ignorance. Man possesses the technical devices whereby common man everywhere can readily communicate with his fellows but there can be no adequate communication until illiteracy is abolished. Here again human nature comes to our aid. All men are endowed with instinctive curiosity—the desire to learn.

In the light of this task the importance and promise of UNESCO is clearly manifest. For UNESCO provides facilities through which peoples of the world may cooperate to strike the scales of ignorance from the eyes of their fellows and in the doing of this task develop an international understanding and goodwill which will undergird the institutions of an ordered world.

The third basic impulse is the "hunger for security." In its primitive manifestation this takes the form of desire for food, shelter, clothing, and the simple amenities of life but in the modern day it expresses itself in far more ambitious terms. Common man today instinctively senses that technology makes it potentially possible for him to have a larger share in the material things of life. More than food and shelter and clothing he wants schools for his children, and the opportunities for his family that a larger income provides. No matter where one travels in the world today he finds the common man reaching out for a larger share of material goods. Roughly speaking there are two major systems in the world bidding for his allegiance, each promising to fulfil his hunger for security. One system may be described as stateism, the theory that the total state owning and operating the national economy is the surest way of producing maximum wealth and distributing it equitably. The other system may be described as a qualified system of free enterprise in which the major portion of the economy is owned and operated by individuals within the framework of rules laid down by the state. The supporters of this system believe that it, rather than stateism, is best designed to produce maximum wealth and in the long run to insure its equitable distribution.

We in America are inclined to believe that the free enterprise system operating within rules laid down by a democratically controlled state will prove to be the most productive system, but the competition of the opposing system has been too brief for our convictions to be demonstrated with finality. But even though time should demonstrate that total stateism can produce and distribute a greater amount of wealth there is a fundamental objection to it which appears to most Americans.

To describe that fundamental objection we turn to the fourth basic human impulse, namely, the "hunger for status." Man is so constituted that it

is constitutionally impossible for him to accept a cheap estimate of his own significance. Instinctively through the ages man has sought for some more worthwhile estimate of his own meaning than "dust to dust and ashes to ashes." Here it seems to me we have touched upon man's deepest impulse. Far more important than the hunger to know or the hunger for security is this universal hunger to be somebody. Someone has said that common man "wants to be wanted" and it is true. Stateism is a spurious answer to this longing for dignity and worth and yet it has a subtle appeal as we witnessed in the amazing rise to power of the Nazis. It is not so much the Nazis promise to give the people of Germany security as the promise to give a feeling of worth to each individual that the Nazis so quickly welded the Germans into a nation of tremendous power. The common German, especially the German youth, became self-confident and proud by merging his personality in the group personality of the German race; his own life took on vast significance as it became identified with what to him was the glorious German nation. Obviously this formula for attaining worth and dignity if accepted by the common man today makes inevitable another world war for it is only by the dominance of one state over all others that this sublimation of self in the worship of nation could persist in a technological civilization without overt conflict.

We hold that it is through freedom that man finds the true meaning of his existence. Freedom and liberty are not ends in themselves but they are indispensable means whereby the common man may achieve a sense of worthwhile at the same time living in peace and friendship with his fellow men. Not because they are the basis of our American society but because of our deep conviction that they are eternal verities we hold these truths to be self-evident: "All men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

So far, stateism has been unable to set men free in the sense in which we think of freedom. If the price of complete economic security were freedom, we would regard it too great a price to pay; we would cling to freedom and in the long run we believe all men will do the same thing. For while it is true that in a crisis man will surrender his liberty for bread, in the long run man will sacrifice bread and life itself to regain his liberty.

We who are the inheritors of liberty must cherish it and nurture it at all costs and by our example demonstrate to common man everywhere that through freedom and through freedom alone, can his hunger to belong, to know, to be secure, and to count, be fully satisfied.



## AMERICANS ALL

THE REVEREND DANIEL A. POLING
*Churchman and Editor*

*"Lo, every people here has sent*
*Its sons to answer freedom's call . . . ."*

IN THESE TWO LINES is vastly more than a poet's fancy. In them is at once the strength and weakness of the American Republic. We are a composite of all races and colors; all blood streams of the earth converge upon and unite in the American river of life. But do they unite? Difficult it is to find a cause national in its interest, continental in its proportions, which does not at one and the same time evoke the enthusiastic support of certain racial groups and the equally bitter opposition of others. Manifestly the American scene differs from that of England, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries, and many other nations where the population is indigenous, or overwhelmingly of one blood.

A distinguished rabbi of Philadelphia said recently that the American Jew, though always and forever a Jew, is nevertheless the biological product of Arab, Amorite and Hittite, Egyptian, Greek and Roman, Moor and Teuton. A very humble mathematician, given a pencil and sheet of paper, can prove that if any of his ancestors came from the British Isles he carries in his veins the blood of William the Conqueror—diluted, to be sure, thinned to a razor edge and thinner, but nevertheless!

The difficulty in all this is that biological blendings represent a slow and exhausting process. Centuries are required, and many a culture that was once distinct has disappeared before the aging process is completed. We are a new nation; proudly we proclaim ourselves the melting pot. But in the past two generations we have grown restless waiting on the mixture. Forty million immigrants in less than forty years all but overwhelmed the receptacle. Our wisest minds have been troubled and the very genius of freedom has been extended.

For our very life's sake we must give attention and concentrate our best thought and most unselfish spirit upon the program that brings us here. Then it shall be that we can in truth add two more lines to those already quoted from Denis McCarthy's immortal poem:

*Lo, every people here has sent*
*Its sons to answer freedom's call;*
*Their life's blood is the strong cement,*
*That builds and binds the nation's wall.*

What is the attitude that racial and religious groups should assume toward each other? Some time since I heard the story of a man advanced in years who came to his physician for a general "going over." The physician, after a careful examination, said, "You are a miracle, sir. At eighty-two you have the blood vessels and heart of a man twenty-five years your junior. What is the explanation?" And the venerable gentleman replied, "Sixty years ago my wife and I came to an understanding that is, I think, responsible for my good health and hers. We agreed that when I said anything she did not like, she would remain silent, and that when she said anything I did not like, I would go outdoors. Doctor," he continued, "for sixty years I have enjoyed an outdoor life." Now this story suggests that the solution of a problem lies in silence or withdrawal and there are some who profess to believe that goodwill and brotherhood, that peace and understanding, are achieved through such a formula. I do not agree. Neither silence nor withdrawal has an adequate formula for goodwill, and brotherhood must have a voice or perish.

There are two words I do not like—one is neutrality and the other is tolerance. When vital issues are involved, when freedom is in jeopardy, when democratic institutions are threatened, and when religion is being liquidated, neutrality or thought to those who have convictions is impossible.

As to tolerance, I would have more than that from those I respect and love. I would have their friendship, their understanding, their faith. Tolerance suggests superiority and condescension. We "tolerate" those whom we regard as our inferiors or the less wise; we "tolerate" conditions in life about us that for the moment we cannot change. We "tolerate" the existence of evils until they become intolerable. God helping us, I shall strive to be worthy of something better than tolerance from my fellow citizens and, please God, I shall give more than tolerance to my fellow Americans of other faiths and other racial strains than my own.

It is in this spirit, without the sacrifice of any dearly held principle and "loyal to the royal" each in himself, that we may continue and strengthen the unity that our sons achieved and that we with our allies demonstrated in winning the war. There is no unity, no vital and vitalizing unity, upon any other basis. When for the sake of any human relationship, you surrender that which is to you holy, you find not a friend but a master. There is common ground for those of many loyalties and without prejudice to the particulars of the several faiths. Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, the black and the white, have not only freedom in common but the responsibilities of government in common. Our support of democratic institutions, free speech, free schools, a free press, and a free church, should transcend all our





differences. If, for any separate cause, if with any selfishness of race or class we should withdraw ourselves from these institutions or seek to exploit them against any group among us, then we have betrayed ourselves, for here it is that the profound principle holds—"United we stand, divided we fall." We have this America with all that gathers beneath the protecting folds of our flag, not because we are of a particular faith nor because our ancestors sailed from a particular foreign port, but because of the common aspiration to be free and the undivided purpose to achieve for ourselves and for our children to the end of time, the more abundant life.

If I should seek to deprive another of that which I enjoy, or of the right to win a comparable enjoyment, I would compromise my position and weaken the defenses that have made my own rights secure. There are times when I become impatient and resentful of what other men are saying, when I am tempted to cry them down or close the halls to their speech. But then I remember that free speech must be free! Within the Constitution and short of violence or incitement to violence, liberty dare not be chained. However profoundly we may detest the utterance, with profound faith in freedom itself we must keep open the media for the release of ideas.

No more vital emphasis can be brought upon this occasion than the emphasis that truth alone is eternal, that "crushed to earth it will rise again," it survives all persecutions and liquidations, and crowns with immortality the thoughts of those who give to it their allegiance. Here is the promise and the destiny of America. In this fountain of eternal youth are the ideas and ideals that will govern the future and more and more perfect human relations toward that day of man's brotherhood in God's fatherhood.

We have our homes in common. You are a Catholic or a Jew; I am a Protestant. But our parenthood and all of threat or promise that surrounds parenthood constitute a challenge to united thought and action. There is a great synagogue two blocks below my church and a great Catholic church two blocks above. But the danger line for pedestrians is not as clearly defined. My children may lie crushed beneath the wheels of drunken drivers anywhere in that broad street; they must face the open doors of vice and the menace of crime at all points of the compass. And unless Catholics, Jews, and Protestants unite to meet the challenge of seductive evil, we shall be as helpless as any army that stands divided and turning upon itself in the presence of a united foe.

Years ago a great community experienced an epidemic of malignant disease that swirled like a miasmatic fog out of the district where Negroes lived under appalling sanitary conditions. Children were stricken and died in the most protected homes. The plague was no respecter of race or creed or color. Then it was that the proud community remembered voices of

warning that had been raised by some of its most distinguished citizens; then it was that a veritable tide of emotional purpose rose to sweep and cleanse the festering wards. The lesson was learned, learned in bitterness and wailing, that in this great America we do not and cannot live unto ourselves. If your home and mine are to be reasonably secure, safe from disease and protected from the moral prowler, enjoying the privileges of a cultured community life, then every other home must be given like security. Our civilization cannot be saved by Jews or by Catholics or by Protestants. It can and must be saved by Americans all, and we are that!

*God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives today to the cause of all free mankind. . . . Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. . . . Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man. . . . Grant us the wisdom and the vision to comprehend the greatness of man's spirit, that suffers and endures so hugely for a goal beyond his own brief span. . . . Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day but for all our years—a brotherhood, not of words but of acts and deeds. . . . And . . . let us march toward the clean world our hands can make. Amen.*

—STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT



## THIRD GENERAL SESSION

Friday Evening, May 17, 6:30 to 8:30 p. m.

Dinner Meeting

The Burgundy Room, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

*Presiding*

F. L. SCHLAGLE

*President, National Education Association, and Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Kansas*

*Speakers at Third Conference Session—Left to right: Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia; F. L. Schlagle, President of the National Education Association; and H. W. Prentis, Jr., President of Armstrong Cork Company.*



## CITIZENSHIP IN A REPUBLIC

HENNING W. PRENTIS
*President, Armstrong Cork Company*

IT IS ABOUT HERITAGE—and the duties of citizenship it involves—that I want to speak to you this evening. What steps are we taking to preserve it? How are we discharging the legacy committed to our care? What are we doing to hand it on in sound condition to the generations that will follow us—you and I and a hundred million other Americans? Little indeed, I fear, so far as fearless personal effort and self-sacrifice are concerned. For if we are honest with ourselves we must admit that with few exceptions, we Americans have taken the ineffable blessings of freedom for granted for so long; have so completely washed our hands of public affairs; have so neglected the study of politics, in the broad sense of the word, that today we are practically powerless to defend our American heritage against its traducers. In fact, few of us have even the vaguest knowledge of the underlying philosophy on which our system of government was founded.

I confess that although I was exposed to the opportunities afforded by a university education, I assumed so smugly until about ten years ago that liberty was mine by inalienable right that I gave little attention to what was going on in our State Capital or in Washington. Government, except when I had to make out an income tax return, was something remote and apart from my personal affairs. There was virtually no place in my life, except for voting, that was set aside specifically for the duties of citizenship. In that respect I do not believe that I was any different from the average American. I took government for granted; assumed that private competitive business, and civil and religious liberty were here to stay; and that there was no need for me to worry my head about any of them.

A decade ago, however, I had a rude awakening. Since then I have realized what I should have recognized many years ago, namely, that no system of government—particularly a republican form of government—can rise higher than the intelligent interest of its citizens. Meanwhile, as I have observed the spread of doctrines that are utterly subversive of the fundamental principles on which our government was built; have listened to teachers, preachers, writers, students, and business men espouse theories that strike at the very root of the Anglo-American concept of personal freedom, I have wondered, in common with thousands of others, why such things should be; why we should suddenly find ourselves adrift on a storm-tossed

sea of political and economic uncertainty; puzzled, afraid, apologetic, and sometimes ashamed of our previous adherence to what we thought were time-tested American principles; ready to snatch at alien political panaceas and eager to follow any economic will-o'-the-wisp that seems to promise a short-cut to prosperity.

This republic, after all, was not founded by men who sat in their seats and waited for somebody else to do the job; by men who were so engrossed in their private affairs that they had no time to give to public questions. Furthermore, the system of constitutional representative democracy, private competitive business and civil and religious liberty, which they established, is not going to be maintained much longer unless we arouse ourselves from our lethargy and meet the rising tide of collectivism with intelligence and decision.

We are not altogether to blame for what has happened. Our lack of awareness has been due largely to the sort of education we received. And here I am not criticizing our schools and colleges. Under our form of government they necessarily tend to reflect the current temper of the people. We have simply had our hearts so set on material success that we have virtually forced our educational institutions to teach concrete realities instead of directing our attention to the basic principles which underlie and determine all the facts of human existence. For the last two generations we have practically abandoned the serious study of classical history, from which our forefathers gleaned the principles which constitute the foundation of our American heritage. Obviously, a man who lacks knowledge of what has happened in past ages is simply a creature of the moment, governed by opportunistic considerations. We have, moreover, virtually given up the study of political philosophy.

The principles on which our government was based were summarized with exceptional clarity by John Locke. His conclusions directly guided the founding fathers of this republic. The Lockian philosophy of government simmers down to three simple propositions: First, that all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed; second, that the function of government is to make possible the greatest degree of individual responsibility and initiative; and, third, that the state may properly function only for the protection of life, property, peace, and freedom.

Opposed to this, the Anglo-American concept of government, is the collectivistic philosophy of Rousseau, developed and popularized in its more radical form by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In America its basic ideas are fostered by many estimable persons who do not realize where such philosophy is leading us. Such people are those, for example, who advocate a compulsory planned economy, but do not wish to go the whole distance on the road to





Moscow. Their position is the antithesis of that under which our governmental and economic system was established. Their philosophy holds that it is the responsibility of the state to remove every obstacle that inhibits any individual's development and opportunity for living an abundant life. The collective social will of the people acting as a mass is sovereign at all times. Hence the individual is the servant of the state—not the state the servant of the individual as is the case under the Anglo-American concept of government.

Thus when we get down to the root of our present-day problems, we find these two philosophies in head-on collision with each other. They are irreconcilable. One asserts that the individual is sacred in the eyes of a Sovereign God; that every human soul is endowed with a divine, God-given personality. The other maintains that we are all mere cells in the great body politic and that we possess no unique inalienable individual rights whatever. That is the Russian concept. It leads logically to authoritarianism, despotism, and tyranny. Men who are too weak to govern themselves, who put their physical welfare above their intellectual and spiritual freedom, who are willing to trade their divine heritage of individual liberty for a mess of red pottage of illusory economic security—deserve no better fate.

Untiring devotion to the Anglo-American ideal of personal freedom inspired our forefathers to set up their momentous experiment in republican government. But as the decades have passed, our obsession with business and personal affairs has dimmed the crusading spirit of liberty, while the proponents of the alien and reactionary philosophy of collectivism have become increasingly vocal and active. Today many otherwise intelligent Americans—as I have already said—find themselves so puzzled that they even question the soundness of our American heritage. As good citizens, it is your function and mine to help restore the faith of our forefathers, to kindle anew that pride in the American system which characterized the early period of this nation's history. We must fight ideas with ideas. Economic facts are important, but they in themselves will never check the virus of collectivism; the only antidote is a crusading revival of faith in our great American heritage.

Are we just going to let things drift as they have drifted for many years gone by? Or are we going to realize and accept our personal responsibility as American citizens? No one of us can do much, but we need to remember what Spencer said: "How infinitesimal is the importance of anything I can do, but how infinitely important it is that I should do it."

"What can I do?" you ask. Here is my answer: A decalogue of American citizenship:

1. Study and understand the political philosophy underlying the American system of representative democracy, private competitive busi-

ness, and civil and religious liberty. Discuss this philosophy with your fellow citizens.

2. Test every governmental policy against this political philosophy; thinking independently and not blindly following herd opinion.
3. To take an active part in politics by helping to form policies and assisting to select and elect the right men to office.
4. Vote yourself and see that others do so.
5. Seek ways of rendering public service yourself by serving on committees, governmental commissions, and, if possible, by holding public office.
6. Advise and counsel regarding pending public questions with your elected representatives in city, county, state, and nation.
7. Support actively those civic and industrial organizations that are fighting for the American system.
8. Interest yourself in education, public and private, in three ways:
   a. Insist that the curriculum stress mental discipline.
   b. Insist on the study of classical history where one sees time after time the recurrence of mass movements similar to those which we are now witnessing in this country.
   c. Insist on the study of political philosophy so that the rising generation may understand what the roots of liberty in America are and thereby acquire a sense of pride in our institutions.
9. Interest yourself in the church, since our Anglo-Saxon political philosophy is founded on the religious concept of the sacredness of the individual in the eyes of a Sovereign God.
10. Practice what you preach by demonstrating, through ethical conduct of your personal affairs, your own faith in constitutional representative democracy, private competitive business, and civil and religious liberty.

Justice Brandeis pointed out that our American political system "demands continual sacrifice by the individual and more exigent obedience to the moral law than any other form of government." So the final requirement today for good citizenship is self-sacrificing patriotism, the rededication of every one of us to the ideals of the American republic.



# OUR CITIZENS MAKE OUR DESTINY

ELLIS ARNALL
*Governor, State of Georgia*

THERE IS but one hope for a peaceful world, and that lies in the creation of a free world; and so, within our own nation we must meet the challenge to individual freedom. All freedom is inseverable from all other freedom and all rests upon the liberties of the individual. The collective freedom of mankind is the sum of all men's individual liberty.

The rights of men are inalienable only in a metaphysical sense. They may be surrendered as casually as Isaac's older son yielded his birthright for a mess of pottage. They may be taken from men by force, if all other men do not realize that the diminishing of any man's freedom involves a sacrifice of his own rights.

Let us consider that fundamental right, which in a democracy is the foundation stone of all the civil liberties of our people: the right to vote.

I am a little proud of my native Georgia because it is the first state of our country to extend the franchise to younger voters, to the "teen-age group." In my state, and soon I believe in other of our states, the citizens of eighteen can exercise the right of franchise. In Georgia, we believe that the boy to whom a Hellcat could be intrusted in combat and the girl able to work in a war industry should vote. The experience that they gain in this exercise of citizenship is valuable to them; and participation in elections is valuable to all our people, because America needs the warm generosity and the burning patriotism of youth; yes, and it needs too—and I use a phrase that the critics of young people as citizens enjoy employing sarcastically—"the dewy-eyed innocence and starry-eyed idealism of youth." When the day comes that America can find no useful employment for innocence and idealism, then the motto on the Liberty Bell—*proclaim liberty throughout all the land*—shall be meaningless and void.

My state recently has abrogated the century-old poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, thereby enfranchising a million Georgians in addition to the half-million youths to whom we have given the ballot. The poll tax is evil, in part, because it deprives a citizen of a basic right to share in his government. That is evil; it is a moral wrong. But the evil done to society is incalculable. Our democratic processes rest upon two things; first, the participation of all the voices of America in the reaching of decisions; if one voice is stilled, if one man is denied the right to express his choice on a candidate or on a policy,

all of us have lost some portion of our dignity and our rights as citizens; second, democracy rests on the acquiescence of all the citizens in the decision reached by the majority; and there can be no acquiescence of those who are denied the right to take part in an election.

I believe that if the poll-tax issue is submitted in any state solely on these moral grounds, as we submitted it in Georgia, the people will decide to wipe it off their statute books.

The rights and privileges of American citizenship entail enormous responsibilities in the world today. America's ability to help preserve world peace rests upon three factors. First, it is able to get its own house in order, to remedy injustices, social, political, and economic, here in our own land. Second, for America to reject for itself and to oppose elsewhere all forms of imperialism and colonialism. Third, to cooperate with all free men in all free nations in seeking world harmony and world peace and world freedom; for harmony and peace and freedom are inseverable; there can be no peace in a world in which some men are shackled to their slaves.

The people who have come to America from all over the earth came here filled with the desire to build a new nation where, under God there should be freedom and equality and brotherhood. They crossed great seas. They conquered the wilderness and the deserts and the mountains. They went forth to fight for this freedom that they had found, and their graves are on every continent. Today our country is a nation of 150 million people. But our country does not belong to those 150 million, in fee simple. It is not theirs alone. America belongs to its past. It belongs to Roger Williams fleeing through the snows of New England, seeking freedom to worship God; it belongs to Jefferson, lavishing his affection on the beautiful buildings of Charlottesville. It belongs to the men of Gonzales who refused to stir from the Alamo, and it belongs to all the Huck Finns and Tom Sawyers that tumbled in the grass by the banks of the Mississippi. It belongs to Dr. Charles Herty, spending a lifetime to find new uses for the Southern pines, and to Abraham Marah, plodding through the backwoods of Pennsylvania and Virginia from this very city with a dangerous pamphlet called *Common Sense* in his peddler's pack. It belongs to George Norris, dreaming in Nebraska of a way to rebuild the ruined hillsides of Tennessee, and to Andrew Jackson, buttoning about him his worn greatcoat and putting a flower on Rachel's grave and setting out from the Hermitage for Washington and for one last, great fight and it the best of all. It belongs to Horace Greeley, tossing his old white hat into the race for president, and to Carl Schurz, fighting to save the natural resources of the people, and to Clara Barton, demanding more bandages and more hot water after Gettysburg.





It belongs not to us today alone, but to the 500 million who marched before us and beat through the wilderness the highway to liberty. And it belongs to the millions upon millions, multiplied into infinity, who shall be our successors and our heirs, for whose ownership of America we are but trustees, to those who shall occupy this good earth when we are gone to mix with it.

And yet it is our country today. Our actions can determine not merely the validity of the future but the value of the past. There is a curious truth about the operation of Time, that what we do today affects not only what shall be done tomorrow but what was done yesterday. By foolish choices, by intolerance and greed and bickering we can make unavailing the sacrifices of those who went before us. We can bleach out the colors from history and leave only the drab grayness beyond. We can render meaningless the prophetic inscription on the Liberty Bell. We can rob of truth Jefferson's valiant language that all men "are created equal and endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights." We can render useless the blood shed at Trenton and Kings Mountain, in the harbor of Tripoli, and on the beachhead at Anzio. We can so despoil the past that it will no longer challenge the future to pride and emulation.

It is a great responsibility to be an American in these days. It is a great challenge to work and to seek in order that liberty, beginning at home, is guaranteed everywhere in the entire world.

I have always liked the second verse of our National Anthem.

It has always seemed to me that this second stanza of Francis Scott Key's was great poetry because it is the autobiography of a man's heart in a moment of agony and indecision. I like to visualize that scene.

Through the night, pacing the deck of an alien and hostile ship, he had seen the flash of the answering cannonade from the little fortress. Through the night, he had heard the hideous hiss and seen the red glare of the rockets; the newest and most terrible weapon of warfare yet unleashed, the almost invincible bomb with its annihilating explosive power, had rocked earth and sea. Then the inferno had been stilled. No shells shrieked from the ships; no answering flashes came from the shore; and the dawn crept bleakly over the Chesapeake, and through its grayness his eyes could not penetrate.

*On the shore dimly seen, thro' the mists of the deep*
*Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes;*
*What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,*
*As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?*

Only the shore, and the grim outline of the fort, and a sudden glimpse of a flagstaff and a banner; and the little breeze that accompanied the grayness

of dawn tantalized him by refusing to billow the flag. Then his eyes must have fallen to the river below, and seen mirrored there what his heart demanded.

*Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,*
*In full glory reflected now shines on the stream:*
*'Tis the Star Spangled Banner . . .*

As a child, I never failed to feel relieved when Key had discovered that the flag was still there; we wanted it to be there so much that it just had to be there.

It must always be there; as a symbol of liberty, and as a reminder to all of us that nowhere in all the world can some men be free until everywhere all men are free. We citizens can make our destiny!

*A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind.*

—WOODROW WILSON
*Twenty-seventh President of the United States*



## FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

Saturday afternoon, May 18, 12:30 to 2:30 p. m.

Luncheon Meeting

Ball Room, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*Presiding*

EARLE T. HAWKINS
*Chairman, Committee on Citizenship, National Education Association, and Director of Instruction, Maryland State Department of Education*

# LABOR, EDUCATION, AND CITIZENSHIP

JAMES H. WISHART

*Director of Research, United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Detroit, Michigan*

MORE than one hundred years ago organized workers in this nation were fighting for an educational system which could be open to all the people. With that immoderation so frequently attributed to their kind, labor leaders of the 1820's and 1830's insisted on the rash demand that anyone's child be allowed to learn reading and writing.

Today, labor is asking that the enormous educational system this nation has developed be used for telling the truth. Recognizing that education for citizenship may use a wide variety of techniques to meet a wide variety of situations and problems, we insist that there cannot be under any circumstances, training for good citizenship which does not base itself on the reality of American history and the reality of present day American society.

I am under no illusion that telling the truth is always an easy thing for the educator. From personal experience in educational institutions, I can testify that it is much easier to venerate truth as a Platonic idea than to apply it in the multiplicity of the real world.

Telling the truth too often requires a substantial amount of courage. There are such things as boards of trustees, which exercise home influence over both the policies of educational institutions and the economic security of educators. It is not unfair to say that such governing bodies are more representative of the groups which own American industry than of educators or of the community at large.

*Left to right: James H. Wishart, Director of Research, United Automobile Workers, CIO; Col. Alfred C. Oliver, "Chaplain of Bataan," Representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; and Burritt C. Harrington, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice.*

The long bitter history of oppression suffered by Negro and other minority groups within this nation is not easily told in many places. The existence of an eighteen billion dollar a year profit potential for American industry is hard to report in defiance of the National Association of Manufacturers' economic dogma that not one cent can be added to wages without a compensatory increase in prices. Not even in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas can there be final refuge from the need of courage for telling the truth.

Of course, something more than courage is required for true education. There must be the ability to see the facts and to see them in the perspective of their total relationship. Certain isolated facts, together with assorted non-facts regarding the labor movement are frequently reported by columnists in many newspapers. These incidents and odd bits of scandal concerning the democratic movement of fourteen million American workers may not be always and totally untrue in the most literal sense of the term. By total implication, however, they are spectacularly distant from reality.

The report of one corrupt labor leader may be used to indicate tens of thousands of men who are fighting with sometimes fanatical honesty to win a somewhat better share of the good things of life for millions of the nation's under-privileged. The action of one group of workers who were guilty of unwise action under extreme provocation has been used to brand as traitors the men and women who turned out weapons of war at a rate of one hundred billion dollars a year.

This totality of outlook required for truthful education includes the historic perspective as well. Recently some industrialists and politicians have demanded that this country consider itself not a democracy but a "republic." To support this repudiation of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, these gentlemen cite passages from certain of the nation's founding fathers.

No one could deny that some early American political thinkers were less than enthusiastic for popular democracy. The course of early American history is a series of struggles between their aristocratic concept of government and the democratic principles of Jefferson, Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln. The demand now that we repudiate the democratic progress of more than one hundred years of American history is a direct challenge to the whole concept of popular education. It is the program for national and international reaction which would seek to reproduce in this country social and educational systems which we fought to destroy in the axis nations.

The survival of American democracy demands education which bases itself upon the truth. Education with courage and insight to reach toward that goal can well serve to guarantee the future progress of all our citizens.

# EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

SUSAN COBBS

*Dean, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

IT SEEMS TO ME one of the miracles of history that out of the adverse circumstances, out of the experiences of a long and destructive war, a group of men, many of them very young, should have written a constitution responsible in large measure for the position of this country now. As Charles Beard says of them: "It is not merely patriotic pride that compels one to assert that never in the history of assemblies has there been a convention of men richer in political experience and in practical knowledge, or endowed with a profounder insight into the spring of human action and the intimate essence of government. It is indeed an astounding fact that at one time so many men skilled in statecraft could be found on the very frontiers of civilization among a population numbering only about four million whites. It is no less a cause for admiration that their instrument of government should have survived the trials and crises of a century that saw the wreck of more than a score of paper constitutions."

It is our success that has inspired so many peoples in all sections of the world to believe that they can succeed too. It is our success, I am afraid, that has led many of us in this country to become careless and slothful citizens, to assume that since we have made great progress in the past, it is a law that we shall prosper and succeed. There is no law of progress, there is always the possibility of progress. The framework for a democratic life does not insure such a life. It takes democratic citizens to do that.

I have thought often of Tom Paine's words written in those dark days: "These are the times that try men's souls . . . . Yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated."

The citizens of that day were tried by their times and not found wanting. Certainly we are faced with problems as great, and with opportunities as challenging as those men were. Our country will succeed in its unenviable but undeniable position of leadership only if its citizens are thoughtful about the problems that face it, firm in their convictions, and courageous





in their actions. That we should be such citizens, I take it, is the concern of this group.

Certainly one factor that arouses a sense of civic responsibility is as present today as it was in 1787—a situation that demands the best of us. Our complex problems at home are matched by the complex problems of our relationships with other countries. So the outward stimulation that increases the recognition of responsibilities is present. We must see that we respond to this situation and are prepared to meet it.

Of course the obvious preparation is through education. In the schools and colleges our students must learn more than a useful accumulation of factual material. They must learn a respect for fact, how to ferret it out, how to use it. They must also learn that they have a direct and immediate responsibility to society, a responsibility that must always be translated into action. There are wise ways to foster this both in schools and in colleges. One of the most important steps is to afford to students a way to participate in civic affairs.

Organizations such as the various types of student assemblies, the widespread International Relations Clubs, the college groups formed under the sponsorship of such organizations as the League of Women Voters afford both an incentive for the study and discussion of various political issues and problems and an opportunity to participate in them. There are such experience builders as the model congress held in Harrisburg where college students are the legislators, the model assemblies set up by the American Association for the United Nations, the annual conferences for colleges sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. There are opportunities too for direct participation in civic affairs. Students can express their opinions in polls of public opinion, they can communicate with Congress on issues in which they are concerned, they can do yeoman service for such organizations as the League of Women Voters, they can serve as watchers at the polls if they are old enough to vote, they can take part in the activities of the Foreign Policy Association. In other ways they have the opportunities to form and inform the public opinion of their own group, by debates on public issues, by panel discussions over college networks. All these things and many others make it possible for students to leave their institutions intellectually trained and consciously concerned in the affairs of their community, in the public issues of their nation, in the problems of the United Nations.

There are, I think, two attitudes that we who are already active citizens need to examine to make the participation and concern of this oncoming stream of new citizens continue into public life. The first is one that Mayor

La Guardia referred to when he said that he was going to spend the time of his retirement from public life rehabilitating the word politician. We have certainly allowed that word to lose its inherently noble meaning. Aristotle tells us that man is by nature a political animal, one who reaches his highest value living and acting in a social group. A politician, one who accepts responsibility in the affairs common to man. Certainly fifth century Athens illustrated what that can mean. Then and there every citizen was an active, vital part of the state. The results of that activity were a flowering in art and literature and political philosophy such as the world has not seen since. The man who abstained from his share in the activity was stigmatized as one primarily busied in his personal affairs. The Greek word for such a person is *idiotes*. The derived English word is *idiot*. If we can approximate that feeling of the Greeks that all men should be politicians, active agents in the state's concern, that he who fails in this fails in life, there will be a greater hope that all of us together can work out a salvation.

The other attitude that needs correcting, and both these things are obvious to us all, is that widespread belief that there is nothing we can do about government, that the "politicians" will go their way regardless. This is rationalization that comes from inertia on our part. No political machine can exist where the citizens are concerned in government, no public issue is decided without the citizens if they move to make their opinion known. Too often the decision goes by default.

"Vigilance is the price of liberty." A vigilant citizen is one who ponders and performs. Both actions are necessary and they are necessary for all of us.

*Left to right: Richard B. Kennan, National Education Association, Citizenship Committee Staff Member; Dean Susan Cobbs, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; and Earle T. Hawkins, Chairman of the National Education Association Citizenship Committee.*

## FIFTH GENERAL SESSION

Saturday Evening, May 18, 7:00 to 9:30 p. m.

Dinner Meeting

The Burgundy Room, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

*Presiding*

UGO CARUSI

*Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, United States Department of Justice*

*Closing Session—The Honorable Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States addressing the delegates.*



# OUR CHERISHED AMERICANISM

TOM CLARK

*Attorney General of the United States*

I AM filled with glowing pride that the Department of Justice, and particularly the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department, is officially charged with the responsibility of keynoting this observance and extending the welcome of the government of the United States of America to our new citizens everywhere in this broad land.

By new citizens, I include those assuming the obligation and receiving the rights of citizenship by naturalization, as well as those native-born citizens who have reached the age of suffrage.

For many years, in fact since the first granting of American citizenship by naturalization, communities and organizations have given public recognition to our new citizens as they assumed the full rights and the duties of their citizenship.

But it is fitting, too, that we set aside this day to those who, by reaching majority in age, came into the full realization of citizenship.

Franklin D. Roosevelt first proclaimed the third Sunday in May as "I AM AN AMERICAN DAY." That was in 1940.

This year, on its sixth anniversary, more than twelve hundred communities throughout the nation will participate in ceremonies honoring two million young people who have come of voting age in the past year, and two hundred thousand persons who have been naturalized.

I welcome each of them in the name of the President of the United States, and I know each of you joins me as we commemorate the beginning of their journey as full-fledged citizens of the United States of America.

To us in the government, it seems that it is upon these new and continually maturing citizens that an increasing responsibility devolves in the affairs of our nation.

Oftentimes, I believe that the designation "American" actually is not limited to the citizens of the United States.

It cannot help but have a western hemispheric connotation because there are many other nations other than this Republic in the western hemisphere which we peacefully and gladly inhabit.

South Americans and North Americans are all Americans, and I am glad to say join with us on most occasions in furthering the principles of Americanism.

Occasionally, some of our brethren, impelled by personal or political reasons, depart from the strict letter of the morality of government set down almost universally on this side of the world.

Some of us here in the United States are not wholly cognizant of our full duties as responsible citizens and some, when the pressure of war or emergency has passed, revert to purely parochial and selfish motives in exercising their rights of franchise and their responsibilities under the Constitution.

To the new citizens of today I can say but little that has not already been said many times over about the glories and the duties of a citizen of the United States.

From the earliest days of the Republic our national leaders have invariably returned to this theme upon public and private occasions, by voice and in their writings, that freedom impels moral decency and dignity, and obedience and respect, as well as support for the laws which we create.

Ours is no lexicon by decree or by royal rescript.

Ours are the plain rules of good sportsmanship in life and in our duties to others.

Our laws are not handed down—they are built up from the desire of a free people for orderly intercourse and sound government.

Many, many volumes have been written and many, many hours have been devoted to abstract thought on theories of citizenship and law.

Our country's beginning was a ringing challenge to the sort of cynicism which has existed from the beginning of recorded history—a cynicism which always sets forth that the people, composed of average men and women, cannot govern themselves.

The same cynicism is alive and vicious today.

It does not matter, apparently, what we have recorded and written as the true history of our Republic because the cynics still say, like Lord Macaulay, that democracies are short-lived.

The glories of our Revolution; the first Constitutional Convention; the emblazoned documents of freedom; the wars against serfdom in the early nineteenth century; our internal struggle during the great war between the states; the rejection of Spanish imperialism in this hemisphere in 1898 and in our century, the monumental first and second World Wars, would be discounted by these cynics unless we make certain that their lessons are well learned.

It does not matter to them that in all these struggles we continually purged ourselves of the elements of dross and disaster and forged ahead upon our chosen path.

It does not matter to those who are critical of our form of government today.





Of all the nations of the world, proud as they are of their cultures and traditions, proud as they are of *their* pasts, and confident as they are of their destinies, this nation of ours alone stands a creditor of all others in tangible assets and moral leadership.

To our new citizens who must be so proud this day and hour, I say that you can confuse the cynics who believe and practice in some other lands that the people cannot govern themselves.

Let the nation to which we must repair as a borrower be critical of our cultures, our citizenship, and our progress.

Let the nation from whom we must obtain lend-lease have the right to criticize us.

Let any nation whose ideology permits of more opportunity and greater human dignity than ours, flout our institutions, but until such a nation appears, let us not countenance disrespect from misguided ideologists, either at home or abroad.

Our record is clear and concise for the whole world to see.

We, it is true, inherited a land vast in natural resources, but it was the courage and the labor of the people that explored them and made them useful for all to enjoy.

The time has arrived for us to be honest with ourselves and to be most firm, and to maintain our government and our institutions until some combination of men proves us out of date.

That day, as we know, will never come as long as we look the truth in the eye, and, by our actions, compel the truth from those who would mislead and delude.

The American citizen today, and the new citizen, sees opening before him on the high road of life a new world responsibility incumbent upon all of us.

And in view of this responsibility, we shall and must have in America a distinct change in some of our ideas.

The United States, as we can all see, is the world leader among nations.

Other nations came to us during the war for our military and moral support.

We maintained the arsenal of democracy.

Since the war, they have come to us for money to rehabilitate the world's commerce, and they are looking to us in the structure of the United Nations for leadership to point the way for a better world.

Inasmuch as we have come of age in world affairs, we must put away childish things.

We have some habits which are too expensive and too juvenile for vast, rich, and powerful America.

We stand before the world as examples of what a free society can do for the individual and for a nation.

We, not the other nations, produced the technologists who inaugurated the atomic age.

Things we do here in our daily life, the decisions we make, the inventions which we develop, and the social advances that we contrive, are watched by keen eyes all over the earth.

Therefore, we must rid ourselves of such things as organized bigotry—and I mean specifically such an excrescence as the Ku Klux Klan, which recently had the temerity to burn the fiery crosses of hatred in Georgia and California, and perhaps other places.

Each time these misled and altogether un-American groups meet, they are contradicting, by their very abuse of the right of free speech and free assembly, the principles which the United States must maintain before the world.

How great must be the contempt of the European, the Asiatic, the African, or the South American, for the people which advertises its benignancy abroad and permit this hypocrisy at home.

How contemptible it is for apostles of hate to blacken the escutcheon of a nation which recently won two wars by its ingenuity, its valor, and the blood of its sons.

In my capacity as Attorney General of the United States, I wish to state here and now that all the federal laws at my command and all that Congress deems fit to give me in the future, will be enforced to the very limit in stamping out any organization or group which aims at extermination of our priceless civil liberties.

No quarter will be given!

The new citizen of the United States partakes in common with the idealism and the hope of all youth, and to that new citizen I commend a doctrine which swerves not in the performance of the duties of citizenship, no matter what the inconvenience or cost.

It is only by entertaining this resolution year after year that we may maintain our vigilance and our wealth of advantages.

To all citizens I say, as earnestly as I can, that the stress of war has given us a habit in this country of tagging people with names.

You have heard the way these appellations are used.

One man calls another a Fascist, and another man calls still another a Communist.

Vicarious name-calling of this sort is against the best interests of our country. It is not American.

Every opponent of Communism is not a Fascist or Nazi, you may be sure.





We cannot impute un-American activity to groups which are merely liberal.

But we must be vigilant that un-American thinkers do not gain control of organizations which *are* liberal and use them as a cloak to cover up their real designs.

Objection to Communism or Fascism or to any other "ism" should be an intelligent objection based upon facts and never upon name-calling.

Here is where education can bring mooted questions and cloaked designs into open daylight.

Here, again, we can be aided by an active citizenship-educational program which teaches the glories of American citizenship, and when these glories are properly taught, no thinking American will dream of adopting remote political ideologies.

A program of education and full factual presentation to the public is needed to end a great part of the confusion caused by indiscriminate name-calling.

To keep good citizenship vigorous, we are called upon to be prepared and remain alert to the menace of malicious subversion.

One of the things which we must do to protect democracy in the American sense of the word, is to prepare to defend ourselves.

Both of the recent world wars found us quite a distance behind the other nations in preparation for war.

Fortunately, the wars started in distant places and we were able to arm ourselves, to take an active part in them, and to win them.

Some day, we may not be able to do that and while we are working and striving for universal and eternal peace, we must always remember that we live in a world of men, and some men are greedy, and some men are ambitious.

Conquerors have risen in the past and may rise again in the future.

We have too much of a treasure here within our borders—too much wealth—too many of the good things of life and too much freedom, to risk a war wherein we may have no warning and which may not start upon distant shores, but will be heralded by a lethal and instantaneous attack upon us at home.

It is impossible to legislate preparedness and adequate military defenses without the support of the people—and the new citizens in America are a part of the people and can make themselves heard.

If the liberties of ours and if this franchise of ours to take part in the affairs of the greatest nation on earth is worth anything, it is worth the price of preparedness.

Some day, we may realize that it is the cheapest and the best way to preserve this way of life.

I have sketched briefly my thoughts upon our responsibility to the country and to each other on the subject of an internal good example of our demeanor before the eyes of the world and about protecting what we have from external aggression.

I wish to add one more plea, if I may, and that is for the new citizens to take a more complete part in the affairs of our communities.

I believe that young people, and especially young women, should seek public office without being sought out.

Do not hang back, because you may be the very one in later years to do great things for America.

Attend, if you can, the meetings of the governing bodies of your communities.

Visit your city councils and your school boards when they are in session.

Go to your state legislatures or take part in the deliberations at town meetings.

Do not be overcome with too much shyness—especially the women—in placing yourselves in candidacy for offices in your community.

The more of you who do that, the better will be the selections of the people, and the better government you will have very soon.

I am strongly in favor of the entrance of young women in politics because I believe that women influence far more people than is realized.

A woman in the home teaching her children the ways of Americanism and good citizenship certainly is far better off if at one time she served her community in no matter what minor capacity.

Eternal vigilance for the principles of American citizenship is intensified by this activity.

The communities are the blocks which make up the great pyramid of the nation.

I hope that all of you in range of my voice realize the heartfelt wish I offer to you that your days of citizenship will always be bright and that the America you so dearly love will be brighter for your voice in her affairs.

*They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.*

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



# TRUE CITIZENSHIP—FAIR EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

JOSEPH H. BALL

*United States Senator from Minnesota*

*Address read by permanent chairman of the Conference Ernest O. Melby in Senator Ball's absence.*

It is well that we should re-examine today the essential meaning of citizenship under our system of government. Our nation is facing many grave issues, both international and domestic. The future safe-guarding and expansion of the rights, freedoms, and dignity of citizenship in this country are at stake in many of these issues. We will find the proper solutions only if the great majority of us are as keenly aware of the obligations and duties of citizenship as we are of our rights and freedoms.

I believe it is fundamental in our system that unless most of us do fulfil our duties and obligations, our rights and freedoms as citizens will not long survive our failure. Unfortunately, far too many of the most vociferous groups in our society appear today to be thinking only of the rights and privileges of citizenship in this country and to have forgotten entirely the obligations and duties that go with those same rights and freedoms.

We speak of our government as a democracy. That is not an accurate statement. Our government is a representative republic. We do not have a pure democracy, where the people decide issues directly and the majority decision is final and absolute. Ours is a representative democracy, wherein the people govern through elected representatives. Our government is also a constitutional democracy. Neither Congress, the Executive, nor the Courts have absolute power in their respective jurisdictions. They are limited to the powers specifically granted to them in the Constitution, and even in the exercise of those powers may not encroach on the rights and freedoms of individuals guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The framers of our Constitution were convinced, I believe rightly so, that too great concentrations of political power are dangerous to freedom, and that a bare majority can be as tyrannical as an absolute monarchy. We have seen some instances in Europe where a bare majority has established an effective tyranny. The statesmen who framed our Constitution wrote into it only limited powers, and protected individual rights even against those powers of government. Then they provided that the Constitution could not be amended except by vote of two-thirds of both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the

states. They were taking no chances on the liquidation of individual freedoms by a bare majority.

I believe two things are essential if our system is to meet effectively the great challenge it faces today. One is that our people know the facts and hear both sides of every issue. The second is political leadership that is willing to really give leadership, based on fundamental principle, rather than following whatever appears to be the majority opinion of the moment. Unfortunately, we are deficient in both today. Too many individuals are hearing only that side of any issue which the particular pressure group with which they are affiliated wants to present to them and they make no real effort to hear the other side. And far too many politicians in positions of leadership, who know the facts and could help us make the right decisions on issues, are instead following the path of expediency and exploiting rather than helping to dispel ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice.

If we are to make our system work, every citizen must practice what Voltaire preached when he said, "I disagree with everything you say but I will defend with my life your right to say it." It is all too apparent from recent events that some Americans have forgotten this fundamental precept of democracy.

Thomas Jefferson, who was a great philosopher, as well as a statesman, is reported to have said once: "That government is best which governs least." I don't believe that Thomas Jefferson was advocating no government at all. That would be anarchy. He was far too intelligent and had thought too much about government to make that error. What he meant was that too many laws and rules for the conduct of individuals laid down by government inevitably tend to curb our freedoms. It is very often necessary for government to step in and make rules which curtail the freedoms of powerful individuals, in order to keep such individuals from using their power to curtail the freedoms of all of us.

I think the point Jefferson was making is that for the democratic system to succeed and avoid becoming bogged down in government rules and red tape, every citizen should in the first analysis be more concerned in guarding the rights and freedoms of all other citizens than he is in exercising his own rights and freedoms. That may sound like a paradox, but let's discuss it a little.

Freedom, under our system, is not license to do absolutely as one pleases, but freedom under law which applies equally to all citizens. And even these freedoms enjoyed under law must be exercised with some restraint and with a due regard for the rights and freedoms of all others or we run into serious trouble.

Those of us who own property, for instance, have the right under the





Constitution and our laws to use that property as we please subject to the right of the government to take it over in time of need and for special purposes. However, it is essential that we exercise that right with due regard to the rights of others or we soon get into trouble. A little over half a century ago, some owners of large aggregations of capital and large segments of our industry began to use that property and the power it gave them to create for themselves monopolies on certain goods and services which were essential to the nation's whole economy and to the public welfare. As a result the government had to step in and through a whole series of anti-trust laws restrain the free use of property to an extent sufficient to guard against this creation of monopolies. Unquestionably, the anti-trust laws have worked some hardship on business and have curtailed somewhat the freedom of enterprise and initiative. That curtailment became necessary because a few individuals insisted on interpreting their right to use their property as they pleased as a license to disregard completely the rights and freedoms of all other citizens.

The freedom of the press had to be restrained by laws against libel and slander because a century ago some publications insisted on interpreting that amendment to the Constitution as granting them a license to tell any kind of lies and malicious slander about any individual. There are dangers in such limits, and there have been some instances where the libel and slander laws have been abused, but they became necessary to protect the freedoms and rights of all individuals.

Any individual or group which denies any restraint on his or its rights and freedoms sooner or later runs into trouble and the government has to step in and apply restraints. We have an example of this today in the leadership of some great labor unions. The right of unions to strike, to concertedly withhold their labor in order to secure from employers attention to grievances or demands on wages and working conditions, has been affirmed in our laws. But when in the exercise of that right the leaders of great and powerful unions carry it to such lengths that they seriously affect the nation's whole economy and abridge the even more sacred right of all citizens to work, then they have gone too far and it is time for government to put some limits on the rights and freedoms of this particular group and its leaders. Like the industrial tycoons of the past century, the leaders of labor must learn that freedom in a democracy is not license.

All of us recognized during the recent war that there is one primary obligation of citizenship which comes before any rights or freedoms. That is the obligation, if it becomes necessary, to defend our country and our system against any enemies. It seems to me that the obligation of citizenship is just as important in peacetime as it is during a war. Now it

is a slightly different obligation, the obligation to study the great issues facing our country and to try to decide them intelligently, not on the basis primarily of how they affect us individually, but as to how they will in the long run affect the future welfare of our country and our system.

I believe very deeply that the rights and freedoms and dignity of the individual citizen are the very foundation of our system of society. I have stressed tonight the obligations and duties of citizenship because it seems to me that a proper recognition of that side of citizenship at this time is very essential if we are to safeguard freedom itself. Unless the majority of us exercise our rights and freedoms with proper restraint and due regard for the freedoms and rights of all other citizens, then government will have to step in more and more to control our activities and to curtail gradually the freedoms of all of us. In the final analysis, it is our actions and attitudes as individual *citizens* which will determine that all-important issue.

### THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

### TAKEN BY FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS AS THEY BECOME CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

*I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help me God.*



*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOOLS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Lecture Room, American Philosophical Society

*Chairman*

GLENN KENDALL

*Dean, University of Maine, School of Education*

*Discussion Leader*

STANLEY E. DIMOND

*Director, Detroit Citizenship Education Study*

*Recorder*

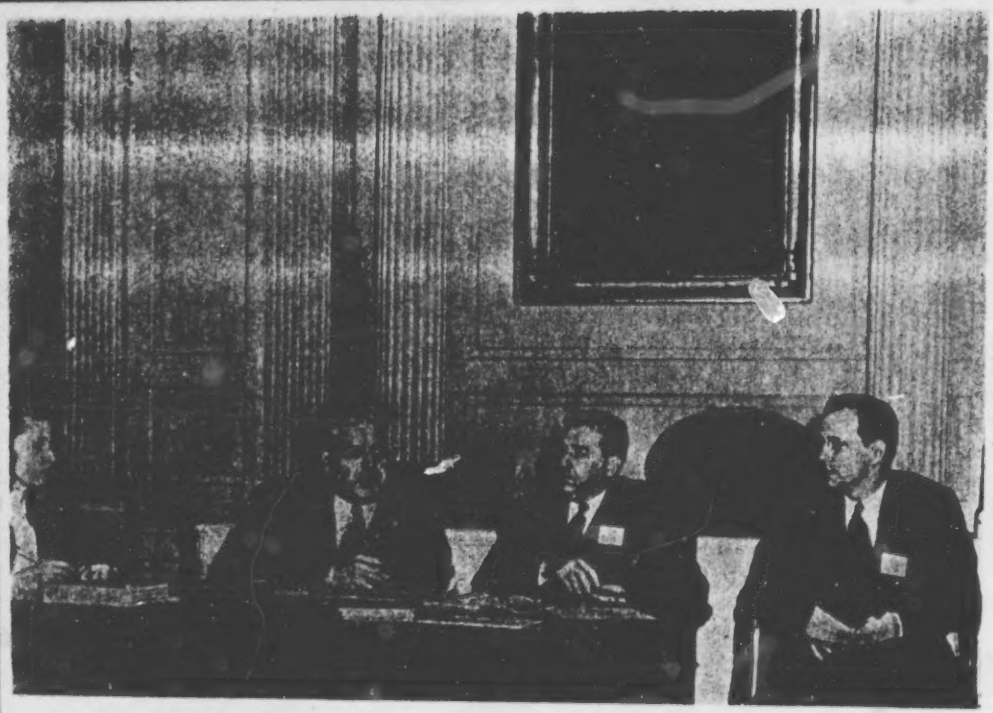
JULIAN C. ALDRICH

*Associate Professor, New York University, School of Education*

DELEGATES from the following thirty organizations participated in the school group: American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation; American Association of Junior Colleges; American Legion; American Library Association; American Teachers Association; American Vocational Association; Child Labor Association; Civic Education Association; Delaware State Department of Education; Detroit Citizenship Education Study; Future Farmers of America; National Catholic Education Association; National Congress of Parents and Teachers; National Council for the Social Studies; National Self-Government Committee; NEA Citizenship Committee; NEA Department of Classroom Teachers; NEA Department of Rural Education; NEA Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development; NEA National Association of Secondary-School Principals; New York University; Pennsylvania State Education Association; Philadelphia Teachers Association; School District of Philadelphia; State Department of Public Instruction; Temple University; U. S. Chamber of Commerce; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; U. S. Office of Education; and University of Maine.

This conference work group met for three sessions on May 17th and 18th, 1946, in the Lecture Room of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. By the end of the first session, it was possible to identify the problems which the group had set for itself. They were listed, generally, as:

I. What is good citizenship?



*Leaders of the School Discussion Group—Left to right: Betty N. Leon, U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Secretary; Julian C. Aldrich, Professor, School of Education, New York University, Reporter; Glenn Kendall, Dean, School of Education, University of Maine, Chairman; and Stanley E. Dimond, Director, Detroit Citizenship Education Study, Discussion Leader.*





II. How can we get good citizenship?
  A. What works?
  B. What is pretty but doesn't work?
  C. What is not pretty and doesn't work?
III. What can we do?

In the process of identifying the questions, the problems were discussed, and some answers suggested. The first question was discussed at the first two sessions of the group, and the others at all three. Out of these discussions came these general conclusions.

I. What citizenship qualities do we desire for ourselves and others?
  A. Assumption of personal responsibility.
  B. Loyalty to the democratic way of life.
  C. Concern and respect for others' opinions and personalities, irrespective of race, color, creed, or social or economic status.
  D. Ability to cooperate (work with others), irrespective of race, color, creed, or social or economic status.
  E. Ability and will to help solve social problems.
  F. Participation in social and civic action.

II. What school practices will aid in achieving these qualities?

Specific practices were described, and their applicability to different age levels was considered. It seems to be the consensus of the groups that those summarized below were usable at all levels of education: kindergarten, elementary school, secondary school, college and university, adult education, and community schools and colleges.

A. School council, if it develops ability to plan instead of political subservience.

1. The group expressed disapproval of the type of student council in many schools. In these schools the problems delegated to the council usually are inconsequential, the selection of representatives frequently is undemocratic, and the general atmosphere of schools leads to a search for what the administration wants—a type of political subservience. Such councils encourage personal politics, toadying, and working with an administrative machine.

2. Quite different were the descriptions of school government at school and college levels where councils were responsible for the analysis and study of school and community problems. It was pointed out that there is a close relationship between effective school government and effective classroom government. Where students have a share in planning classroom, school, and community activities, the school council is more likely to develop citizenship responsibilities.

B. Student participation in classroom planning of worthwhile activities.

1. The group expressed approval of attempts at elementary, secondary, college, and adult education levels, to develop participation in planning classroom procedures and problems. Courses of study and units set out in advance were considered ineffective for the teaching of citizenship responsibilities. Description of practices at all levels were given to show the gains inherent in democratic class direction. In such classes, teachers and students share responsibility for the selection of problems to be studied and the aspects of the problems to be emphasized. Members of the group insisted that this had raised rather than lowered the level of maturity of the class activities, since students worked better and harder on problems significant to them than on problems significant only to a teacher.

a. Several members of the group described the citizenship qualities which resulted from students sharing with teachers the determination of goals, the identification of interests and social needs, the planning of study, and the selection of enriched activities.

C. Direct experience with community agencies, agents, officials, and people at work.

1. The increased interest in the utilization of community resources has led to more frequent direct contacts with persons in civic and governmental activities. Many students visit government officials. More valuable, thought the group, were the observations and participation directed at governmental and civic activities in the community. Participation in the war effort had much citizenship value. Desirable extensions would be student participation with adults in community activities.

2. Boy's State and Mayor (and city officials) For a Day programs were considered. As dramatizations of some aspects of governmental structure and functions they seemed to have some value, but it was felt that such programs are not likely to develop effective citizenship skills on a widespread scale. More important, thought the group, were problem-solving techniques in the school and class.

D. Problem-solving techniques in class, school, faculty, and community groups.

1. Reference has been made, by implication, in each of the previous discussions to the necessity for problem-solving techniques. It was one of the main themes of this conference work group, recurring quite as often as the theme that effective citizenship results from democratic group cooperation. Problem solving is the *raison d'etre* of functional education. In our society, with many serious social problems, the ability to assist in the solution of these problems is an essential of effective citizenship. The school contributes to citizenship training by developing fundamental skills of thinking. In every group situation, this skill is basic.

2. Many descriptions of problem solving by school classes, school councils, faculty groups, and school community councils were given. The major parts of the process appeared to be: study, development of insight, experimentation, discussion, weighing evidence, reaching conclusions, and basing actions on conclusions. The emphasis of these skills will tend to reduce authoritarian and undemocratic procedures and habits.

E. Increased understanding of peoples, institutions, and ideals.

1. While practices included here were believed to be indicated under each of the headings above, it was believed desirable to give them special emphasis. Knowledge of our people as well as those of other nations is necessary to informed national and world citizenship. So, too, is necessary an understanding of national institutions and international organizations. Equally important is a knowledge of the scales of values of our peoples and the peoples of the world.

III. What more do we need to do?

While the group felt the conference a most valuable experience, it felt the necessity of many conferences in regions, states, and localities to explore further the problems studied here. It overwhelmingly recommended other national conferences in the future. It approved this statement:

The school committee feels that intensive study must be given to the following area:

A. Evaluation of achievement of citizenship.

1. Including a study of the nature and scope of the educational examination to be given applicants for naturalization.

B. Student participation in school government as influencing citizenship.

C. Significant, democratic classroom teaching as influencing citizenship.

D. Increased emphasis on citizenship recognition program.

In spite of the limited time available to the conference work group and

The Civic Leader
A Publication of the Civic Education Service
Schools Are Preparing for
National Citizenship Day: May 19
The Christian Science Monitor
Citizenship Conference Told
Americans Face Great Task
Citizenship Day
200 DISCUSS 'JOY' OF BEING CITIZEN AT MEETING HERE
TRENDS
IN EDUCATION-INDUSTRY COOPERATION
Conference Focuses Attention on American Citizenship
BALL URGES CURB ON UNION POWERS
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
KKK Must Go, Atty. Gen. Clark Declares
The Seattle Sunday Times
Citizenship Rule: Observe 'American Day' Every Day
Tom Clark Pledges War On Bigotry Over Nation
BALL URGES UNION CURB
THE DAILY TIMES HERALD
Teen-Ager Vote Urged for Penna.
CLARK PLEDGES WAR ON KLAN
Citizenship Day Now Under Broader Auspices; Slogan: "United We Build"
U. S. Must Rid Itself Of KKK, Says Clark In Americanism Speech
Clark Declares U. S. Must Get Rid of Klan
Philadelphia welcomes the distinguished delegates to the "National Conference on Citizenship"...May 17 and 18

# FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

its desire to study the problems set by it more thoroughly, the group agreed to several recommendations. These are given below.

IV. How can these school practices be put into effect in the schools and classrooms of America?

A. Establish school-community councils of parents, teachers, pupils, administrators to consider school-community problems and propose solutions.

B. Improve teacher education.

1. Preservice: through teacher-student selection and study of problems, participation in direction of child and youth activities, study of child growth and development, and practice in programs of student participation in class planning at school and college levels.

2. Inservice: through workshop activities, participation in community affairs and programs, research in child growth and development, and experimentation in curriculum and school organization.

C. Democratize school administration through provision of an atmosphere of democratic participation and opportunity for teachers and students to participate in making decisions affecting instruction, school life, and school and community relationships.

D. Increase emphasis on significant citizenship experiences in the total school program.

E. Adjust school practices to the needs and abilities of students.

Note: The following question was considered by the school group. The participants indicated that it should be studied by a group of experts for possible presentation and further consideration at a later conference.

"What is the nature and scope of the educational examination which should be given to applicants for naturalization to determine, as required by the nationality, law and regulations, whether they have a 'fair knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States,' and are 'qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States'?"



*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Pennsylvania Dutch Suite, Carl Schurz Foundation

*Chairman*

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

*Professor, Columbia University, Teachers College*

*Discussion Leader*

JOY ELMER MORGAN

*Director of Publications, National Education Association*

*Recorder*

H. LEWIS CUTLER

*Director, Philadelphia Round Table*

DELEGATES from the following fifteen organizations participated in this church group: National Council of Catholic Women; National Conference of Christians and Jews; National Lutheran Council; Veterans of Foreign Wars; Home Missions Council of North America, Inc.; Teachers College, Columbia University; National Association of Manufacturers; Encampment for Citizenship; National Catholic Welfare Conference; School District of Philadelphia; NEA Division of Publications; B'nai B'rith; World Christian Endeavor Union; Kiwanis International; and International Society of Christian Endeavor.

Preliminary discussion of this work group centered around eight main recommendations. These recommendations are hereby respectfully presented as the report of the church group at the First National Conference on Citizenship.

I. In view of the establishment of National Citizenship Day, the conference group on the churches records its approval of such nationwide recognition of the attainment of voting age and the naturalization of the foreign-born.

II. We believe that National Citizenship Day should be the culmination of a period of specific education for the duties of voting citizenship with a particular emphasis on the structure and problems of local government.

III. We recommend that every church and synagogue dedicate, with

*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Reception Room of the American Philosophical Society

*Chairman*

HUBER W. HURT

*Director of Research, Boy Scouts of America*

*Discussion Leader*

LEROY BOWMAN

*Good Neighbor Federation*

*Recorder*

EVERETT C. PRESTON

*Director, New Jersey Department of Public Instruction, Division of Adult Education*

DELEGATES from the following twenty-nine organizations participated in this conference group: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation; American Association of Social Workers; American Association of University Women; American Legion; American Library Association; American Public Welfare Association; American Red Cross; B'nai B'rith; Boy Scouts of America; Common Council for American Unity; Community Chests and Councils; Encampment for Citizenship; Farmers Union; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Future Farmers of America; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Good Neighbor Federation; National Council of Negro Women; National Self-Government Committee; National Society of Colonial Dames; NEA Department of Rural Education; New Jersey State Department of Education; Philadelphia Teachers Association; School District of Philadelphia; Student Government Council of Philadelphia; Temple University; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Veterans Administration; Young Men's Christian Association.

After preliminary discussion the group decided to concentrate on the following five specific problems which are involved in the strengthening of the contribution of organizations to better American citizenship:

I. How can good citizenship be developed on the part of young people, especially our young adults?

II. How can cooperative teamwork organization and an active participation in matters relating to good citizenship be encouraged and cultivated within citizens and organizations?

III. How may law observance be encouraged and strengthened in our communities?

IV. How can we help to develop those human values which are vital in good citizenship among individuals and groups in the community?





In order to facilitate the work, subcommittees were organized from the participants in the group. Each of the subcommittees presented a series of recommendations including principles and guides to action for the consideration of the entire group. After careful consideration of the reports of the subcommittees, the entire group desires to recommend the following principles and suggested practices to the entire conference membership for consideration:

I. Development of good citizenship by and with the cooperation of young adults.

A. There should be an integration of various social, intellectual, and religious groups within the school and community organizations so that understandings may be cultivated and barriers which prevent good citizenship may be broken down.

B. More fellowship groups should be encouraged in schools, including representation from all districts. This relates particularly to those groups which meet and have their activities after school hours—in the day or evening.

C. Junior community civic councils for young adults and young people should be encouraged on a long-time basis, rather than on a periodic ephemeral pattern, to work along with regular adult councils to enable students and other young adults to obtain a clearer conception of how their community is governed and operates.

D. Social organizations should initiate similar junior groups to work along with them.

II. The initial step should be the development of a community organization representative of all agencies concerned with the community's general welfare.

A. It is suggested the pattern of this organization grow out of findings of studies that are known to have validity on the subject.

B. The mobilization of leadership and the utilization of local available resources constitute the essentials of a machinery capable of providing opportunities for full participation which make for effective citizenship.

C. The following areas of action should be regarded as important and immediate objectives:

1. The social and political orientation of the veteran.
2. The re-orientation of the returning war-worker.
3. The effective social assimilation of newcomers and aliens.
4. The adoption of positive and practical plans which lead to the elimination of social, racial, and religious barriers.
5. The aggressive recruitment of voluntary services of all citizens in an effort to enrich community life and make democracy a vital community fact.

III. The observance of law is fundamental to the existence of an orderly society and the observance of law is one of the highest responsibilities of the individual citizen toward his government and toward his fellow man. It is recommended:

A. That community organizations, including all agencies concerned with the community's general welfare, include law observance as a most important phase of its area for consideration and service. Such consideration would have many uses in addition to the encouragement of law observance, but would particularly help to focus attention of the community organization on law observance problems.

B. That inasmuch as the citizen's desire to comply with law has a direct relationship to his respect for law and his respect for those who enforce the law, it is recommended that specific encouragement be given by community organizations to progressive law enforcement methods including the increasing of the attractiveness of law enforcement positions, the improvement in recruiting of personnel for enforcement positions, the improvement in training of personnel, and including also training in understanding social and environmental causes of criminal and delinquent behavior, a training in the proper understanding and handling of racial tensions, and improvement in the operations. The utilization of the informational and educational services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are examples of the avenues the use of which the community organizations might encourage.

C. That community organizations take advantage of every opportunity to improve respect for law by giving forum opportunities to law enforcement representative so that the citizen's desire to comply with law will be strengthened by a better knowledge of the policies of organizations enforcing the law.





D. That the community organizations lend their support to law enforcement organizations in specific ways such as in sponsoring the attendance of police officers at the FBI National Academy, and as in supporting the law enforcement executives in the obtaining of modern communications and other technical equipment, and in such ways as encouraging law enforcement organizations in crime prevention work.

IV. We urge upon each of the organizations within each community a definite and aggressive effort.

A. To explore ways to effect better understanding of our ideals and institutions.

B. To stimulate their own members to join, as a personal responsibility, in doing five things to make their citizenship more effective:

1. Extend a more friendly spirit to all fellow citizens.
2. Set a solid example of law observance.
3. Always vote—informedly and in public interest.
4. Honestly record and bear his tax share.
5. Participate more often in other voluntary organizations for community betterment.

C. For specific and planned efforts on the part of various community agencies within each community to become acquainted with each other and to effect friendly cooperation.

The following recommendations are also made by the entire group:

I. That this conference be followed by a similar one within the coming year to help in carrying forward the contributions of community organizations to better American citizenship.

II. That the results of this year's conference be translated into realization through a follow-up process which might be helped by the organization of somewhat similar conferences on the regional, state, and local levels.

III. That the radio and motion pictures be encouraged to prepare and publicize materials and information that will be of assistance in the development of better American citizenship.

IV. That the preparation of an agenda previous to future proposed meetings, especially for next year, be encouraged.

V. That the appreciation of the members of the group be extended to the chairman, discussion leader, recorder, and secretary for services rendered.

VI. That the proceedings of this conference, including those of all groups, be distributed to all participants.

*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE HOME TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Library Room of the Carl Schurz Foundation

*Chairman*

MRS. RHEA ECKEL

*Executive Secretary, New York State Citizens Council*

*Discussion Leader*

MRS. SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG

*Director, Child Study Association of America*

*Recorder*

R. J. COLBERT

*Director, University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Community Development*

THE FOLLOWING TWENTY organizations participated in the home discussion group: American Association of Social Workers; American Association of University Women; American Public Welfare Association; Association of Childhood Education; Bureau of Community Development; University of Wisconsin; Camp Fire Girls; Family Welfare Association of America; National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers; NEA Department of Classroom Teachers; NEA Department of Elementary School Principals; National Society of Colonial Dames; New York State Citizens Council; School District of Philadelphia; Temple University; United Council of Church Women; Children's Bureau; U. S. Department of Labor; Woman's Foundation; Young Women's Christian Association.

I. What the home and family life normally contributes to effective citizenship.

A. The home and family life are at the very foundation of effective American citizenship. It is in the home that spiritual values and attitudes are learned. Here, through participation in the joys and problems of living together, are learned the lessons of cooperation, fair play, give-and-take, and appreciation of the common, everyday things of life. Here it is that the individual finds emotional security and self-expression and at the same time learns to respect opinions of others and their rights and self-expression.

B. It is in family life that the *dignity of the home* as a basic institution is sustained and becomes a cornerstone of character growth—of faith, honor, self-respect, loyalty, poise, pride, and sense of duty. Through the outreach of the home to the community, state, and nation, these sentiments become the dynamics of patriotism. Thus, it is in the home and examples set in family life that civic interest, love of country, and respect for law, order, property, and of the rights of others become ingrained.

C. It is in the home and family living that one becomes aware of the interdependence of one person on another and of one group upon other groups. Indeed, the daily needs of the family demonstrate an interdependence that is by no means limited to people of like minds, race, culture, or country. Unless the individual is fully conscious of this wide range of interdependence, and appreciative of it, he is likely to find that *recognized differences* in the peoples of our interdependent "economic society" may become the basis of *resentful discriminations*. He is likely to develop attitudes prejudicial to democratic relations and inimical to a wholesome sense of social responsibility. Thus, it is through the home and the outreach of family life that the attitude toward and the evaluation of different peoples and different cultures are largely formed and where preparation for happy relationships is made.

D. It is in the family circle that the individual gets much of his knowledge and interpretation of civic and governmental affairs and his urge for better education. Discussion of community and national affairs in the family circle is free and frank, whether it be party politics, governmental regulations, atomic energy, military training, or the more local question of improvement of streets, a place to park, or a recreational center. Parents and children contribute both information and point of view. Tradition and custom get seasoned with the new thought and up-to-date developments. In the discussions in the family circle the *past* meets the *present* to shape the future! Indeed much of the information and interpretation which the individual gets from outside contacts passes through the mill of family discussion before it is ready to be the basis of action.

E. So it is that the home and family life make a basic contribution to effective American citizenship.

II. Many homes do not make their full contribution to better American citizenship.

A. Perhaps most American families are reasonably successful in making a normal contribution to effective citizenship. However, there are all-too-many who, for various reasons, are not so successful and whose contribution falls far short of what it should be. Unfortunately, too, there is a large number (some believe it is an increasing number) whose circumstances or influence weaken rather than strengthen American citizenship. Indeed, there are many home and family situations that breed and encourage antisocial, even criminal patterns of conduct.

B. What prevents so many families from fulfilling their duties toward their community, state, and nation?

1. *Indifference* and *apathy* on the part of a large proportion of voters toward their obligations as voters is perhaps the greatest single menace to good government in the United States. This blight is not limited to any section of the country or to any segment of the population, though it is generally more noticeable in local elections than in national. There is no doubt but that much of it is a reflection of unhealthy attitudes developed in family life—attitudes which expect and demand much from the public but are either ignorant or unappreciative of reciprocal obligations and responsibilities. No doubt, too, some of it is due to community influence—some communities take a "What's the use?" attitude toward civic affairs.

a. Where the community is to blame for the prevalence of indifference and apathy toward public affairs, the reasons are generally not difficult to discover, though they are seldom quickly or easily remedied.

b. Community standards of living and of family life play an important role in creating attitudes toward effective citizenship. These standards may be both good and bad. Unhealthy standards may be the result of bad housing, lack of adequate health facilities, irregular and inadequate family income, poor and inadequate schools, lack of wholesome recreational facilities resulting in the prevalence of undesirable group activities and organizations. Family life in such a setting is seriously handicapped in contributing its full share of good citizenship.

2. A *poor* and *inadequate foundation* for family life does not develop the attitudes in parent and child that are essential for good citizenship. All too often this condition is the result of *psychological immaturity* of the parents, or perhaps more often,





the *lack of preparation for family relationships*. Under such circumstances both father and mother are apt to continue merely as individuals and fail to develop a happy family spirit. Thus, the healthy growth and development of the children is apt to be neglected or dominated by the *ambition of parents* or left to the influence and guidance of *agencies outside the home*. The home, under such circumstances, is more apt to make a negative rather than a constructive contribution to good government.

3. In some segments of the population (perhaps decreasing segments) traditional social and economic practices limit participation of family members in civic affairs. The "head of the family" does not rule with democratic methods. Where either parent is absolute "boss" there is likely to develop an atmosphere in family life inimical to a wholesome contribution to good citizenship. In many of the Old World cultures this pattern of family structure still persists and the persistence of the use of foreign language in the family tends further to limit the participation on the part of its members in civic affairs.

4. The impact of change and of outside influence on family life add to the difficulty of maintaining the ideals and spiritual values that make for a balanced and healthy outlook on life. The impacts crowded into a single week of modern living are far greater and more numerous than those that were made in a whole year for the individual of three-quarters of a century ago. The automobile, the telephone, the radio, the newspaper, the movies, national advertising, the airplane, and modern medicine have not only multiplied the range of interest and contacts, but have intensified the diversification of interests on the part of the members of the family. It is more difficult for the parent of today to share in all of these interests and contacts than it was for the parent of the past to share in the interests and contacts of his children. Thus, many students of family life are cynical about the prospects of strengthening the family contributions to citizenship beyond those which may be molded in the early years of childhood.

5. Furthermore, these changes have a profound influence on the standard and manner of living of American families. They are largely responsible for the changing make-up of the family, for the fewer children per family, for increasing the span of life, and for the transfer of many of the old-time functions of the

home to outside agencies and organizations. Then, too, government services and regulations have become of increasing importance to both the individual and the family, matters ranging all the way from pure milk for the baby to social security for old age. These changes not only increase the need for family interests in citizenship and governmental affairs, but increase the amount of attention which the citizen must devote to public matters in order that his tax dollar may be as efficiently spent as the dollar spent in his private purchases.

6. Even the matter of bringing up a family under the most advantageous circumstances is in itself a hindrance to keeping abreast of the times and to active participation in citizenship affairs. Especially is this true for the mother whose time is largely taken in caring for small children. Lack of private or community resources for the care of small children frequently puts a definite limit upon what young mothers can do in community and governmental affairs.

C. Thus, it is that circumstances and conditions often hamper or even misdirect family influence in regard to the contribution which the family might make to better American citizenship.

III. Resources for strengthening the contribution of the home to better American citizenship.

A. Most American families are succeeding fairly well in making their adjustments to the rapid changes of our time. In making these adjustments, however, they have created and developed social resources, both public and private—resources to furnish them with the information and the services which they need for meeting the requirements of present day living. Those families having a difficult time in making their full contribution to citizenship either do not use these resources effectively, or fail to use them at all. They would greatly strengthen their lot and the contribution they made to citizenship by making appropriate use of them.

1. Perhaps the most important of these resources are our educational institutions, from the kindergarten to the postgraduate school. Never before have so many turned to education to find the key to the solution of their many personal and civic problems, and to get a satisfactory understanding of the facts of modern life as a basis for guiding them in developing programs for action. Schools are no longer limited to courses of instruction and training of children; adults of all ages crowd our vocational and night schools, lectures, forums, "workshops," and round tables. Some of the most popular of the programs of adult education are those which have to do with meeting the problems of citizenship.





2. Numerous organizations are closely associated with the schools in promoting and guiding constructive programs for improving community and civic affairs. Among the most effective of these organizations are: The P.T.A., the Women's Clubs, and League of Women Voters. In recent years there have been added to many of the local school systems provisions for visiting school teachers, educational counselors, vocational counselors, and health programs as well as expansion of recreational facilities to accommodate adults as well as children. Only in the more backward rural sections of the country is it difficult for the family to find its way to share in at least some of these resources for betterment.

3. Closely associated with the educational resources, and in many instances fostered by them, are the wide variety of library services, neighborhood branch libraries, traveling libraries, package libraries, book clubs, and reading circles.

4. The churches of all faiths and denominations have traditionally been a bulwark for strengthening the home and family life and for sustaining those ideals and dynamics of character which make for the good life. They, more than any other social resource, vigilantly attempt to reach and serve those who need help.

5. Many clubs, civic organizations, and labor organizations do much not only to promote fellowship but to further a better understanding of civic problems. Many foster neighborhood discussion groups which reach into the homes and bring to even the most isolated members of the family opportunities for sharing in the programs which contribute to bettering American citizenship. Many of these organizations use the press, the radio, and the movies as a means of helping the home to do a better job.

6. For years the press has been a major resource in promoting better living. This applies not only to the local newspapers, but also to the many helpful "home journals." In many instances the press has led out and furnished the leadership needed to secure public improvements and improve living conditions.

7. Important, also, are the numerous youth organizations—the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, 4-H Clubs, and others. Most of them work in close co-

operation with the home. Sometimes, however, the disadvantaged families—the ones who most need such assistance—are most difficult to reach.

8. Social service organizations, public and private, especially family welfare, child welfare, health, and employment agencies are resources that are reaching an ever-widening number of families that need help in making their adjustments. Not so long ago these sources were limited mainly to the larger cities. Today their services reach into small towns and open country.

9. Increasingly Americans turn to government—local, state, or national—to create needed services, controls, and corrections. Some of these have already been mentioned. Here can be mentioned but a few of the other important governmental sources; the Children's Bureau, the Woman's Bureau, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, the Cooperative Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (reached through the Agricultural Colleges), the Social Security Board, the U. S. and State Health Services, hospitals, clinics, industrial commissions, conservation and recreational departments, and many municipal services. Many of these public services contribute daily to the family standard of living.

B. Certain aspects of the rapid change of our time have as yet not been met by adequate resources. However, those families who constitute the bulwark of America's civic strength will soon find the way to create them. The old-time, self-sufficient household economy that once made the family an independent unit has gone. Nevertheless, family life is still at the foundation of the strength of American civic life. The ingenuity and dynamics of it can be depended upon to develop the social resources that enable the family to continue to make its full contribution to American citizenship.

IV. Techniques for improving the contribution of the home to better American citizenship.

A. Some of the techniques for reaching the American family and improving the contribution it makes to American citizenship are implicit in the resources just listed.

1. Taking an active part in governmental affairs, from the town meeting to national election, is perhaps the most effective technique. Civic organizations which direct their efforts to getting representatives of every family to participate in civic





affairs—local, state, national, and international—help to enrich the contribution made by the home to American citizenship.

a. Citizens councils, community councils, voters' leagues, P.T.A. organizations, community forums, neighborhood discussion group, school debates, and adult education programs all provide the opportunity to get the information and the training essential for participation in effective citizenship.

b. Cooperative solving of community problems—getting improved health service; creating a more adequate social center; providing a vocational counseling center for youth and adults; in short, meeting any of the community needs—is a technique that helps the family contribute much to good citizenship.

2. The role of the newspapers, magazines, the radio, the movies, and the advertiser in informing and shaping the opinion of members of the American home must not be underestimated. Especially during the World War did we come to appreciate their tremendous potentiality. They can be a more effective force in helping to meet the problems of peace, local as well as national and international.

3. "I am an American Day" or "Citizenship Day," and the program of voter education that precedes it, is another means of strengthening and enriching American citizenship. The third Sunday of May has been designated by Congressional Resolution and by Presidential Proclamation as the occasion on which the states and their local units of government recognize the new voters (youths who reached voting age and those aliens who were naturalized during the preceding year) and induct them into the electorate with appropriate ceremony. This is not a new technique. It was an important institution among the ancient Greeks and the American Indians. And, as was the case with the Greeks and the Indians, this induction ceremony is only the fitting climax to an educational and training program. The pattern for "Citizenship Day" programs was set in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, in 1938-39, under the leadership of the University of Wisconsin. The pattern consists of three parts:

a. Carefully planned local neighborhood and community forums under the leadership of the new voters.

b. County convention of new voters.

c. "Citizenship Day"—the induction program. The program of forums attempts to provide the new voter with satisfactory

answers to two sets of questions, designed to give him, and the older voter as well, an understanding of what is expected of a voter.

Question One—"Where and how far have the older voters brought government to date, beginning with local government, and what are we getting for our tax dollar?"

Question Two—"What issues and problems am I now as a voter expected to help think through, beginning with the issues and problems of local government?" Through cooperation with all of the many civic organizations of the community, the program aims to reach every single family in each precinct of the county, incuding the shut-ins and the absentees. In these days of rapid change such an annual program furnishes the basis for a citizen to get the information and the inspiration so necessary for directing and improving public affairs. The sponsorship of the program is legally vested in the school system under the superintendent of schools, but it is necessary for him to surround himself with a committee composed of representatives from the various civic organizations and units of government. The county convention of new voters is devised for training in use of the democratic processes and the setting up of facilities for cooperation in meeting local problems and in getting acquainted with local officials. "Citizenship Day" is indeed a community occasion. An occasion arranged on a date that permits rural school participation and which not only gives the new voter the inspiration and appreciation for meeting his responsibility, but it serves as a re-dedication of older voters to a more active interest in the affairs of government.

4. Some such annual occasion is more needed today than in any other age since the speed of change and the complexity of life requires more of the citizen than was required heretofore.

V. Conclusion

A. "A program of action must have as its cornerstone faith in the future. With the restoration of this faith perhaps we shall also achieve unity for peace and progress. A growing army of people in all walks of life is now placing the building of citizenship as among the first tasks of the peace. With the courage and steadfastness born of such a great purpose, working in freedom as one people, we can build strong foundations deep and wide and lasting.





B. "The spiritual power of human kind—the grand teamwork of all our citizens, children, young men and women, older men and women, lies in translating the magnificent religious and political faith of America into the living community, its homes, its streets, its music, its daily work, in short, its total life.

C. "Democracy is the miracle of little people becoming great people through free common action. This, I think, is what we all have come to see in these stirring hours together. Each of us is commissioned, not by any dictator, but commissioned by the common vision and faith that has grown up in these meetings, to return home, get going and give our best." (*Concluding statement by the Chairman,* Mrs. Rhea Eckel.)

*As a government so popular can be supported only by universal knowledge and virtue, it is the duty of all ranks to promote the means of education as well as true religion, purity of manners, and integrity of life.*

—JOHN ADAMS,
*Second President of the United States*

*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF PRESS, RADIO, AND MOTION PICTURES TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946 in the Pennsylvania Dutch Suite of the Carl Schurz Foundation

*Chairman*

ROBERT A. WALKER
*Director, Institute of Citizenship, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, Manhattan, Kansas*

*Discussion Leaders*

THEODORE GRANIK
*Director and Moderator, the American Forum of the Air, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C.*

C. R. REAGAN
*President, Film Council of America, Austin, Texas*

*Recorder*

LYLE W. ASHBY
*Assistant Director, Division of Publications, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.*

THE FOLLOWING sixteen organizations participated in the press-radio-motion picture group: Allied Youth; American Broadcasting Company; American Forum of the Air; Associated Negro Press; Educational Press Association of America; Encampment for Citizenship; Film Council of America; Institute of Citizenship, Kansas State College; Motion Picture Association; NEA Division of Publications; National Jewish Welfare Board; National League of Women Voters; Scholastic Magazine; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Veterans of Foreign Wars; Woman's Bar Association of the District of Columbia.

I. Our group recognized at the outset that there are outstanding contributions to better citizenship being made by all three of the mass media to which this group addressed itself. Such efforts as the radio forums, documentary films, and complete and objective feature coverage by newspapers of public issues should be encouraged and actively supported.

A. Truly commendable efforts of press, radio, and motion pictures contributed to the war effort. It is our judgment that these





efforts must be intensified in the present urgent task of helping to combat the intolerance, injustice, and disunity which loom as major threats to our democracy.

B. The press, radio, and motion picture are media of entertainment as well as of education. As far as their educational opportunities and responsibilities go, their purpose should be to provide a steady flow of information to the public so that the people can understand and make intelligent decisions on local, state, national, and international issues.

C. In the existing economy, the press, radio, and motion picture must, for the most part, support themselves as business enterprises. They must appeal to an audience large enough to make the enterprise profitable.

1. Of necessity, the management of mass media tend to give the people what they want. On the other hand, the leaders and managers of these mass communication media are in a strategic position to help to elevate the levels of a public taste and interest. Those who cater to prejudice, intolerance, and the distortion of truth are a disgrace to their fellows in the media in which they work.

D. Superior contributions to better citizenship by press, radio, and movies exist in some communities:

1. Because public-spirited management seeks to do a good civic service.

2. Because of better know-how in the presentation of the facts and ideals essential to good citizenship.

3. Because there is widespread community support and demand for this type of presentation.

II. Issues and recommendations.

A. We recognize that all three media have to exercise editorial judgment in choosing the material that they shall present, due to physical limitations of time and space. Even greater care should be exercised than in the past to see that all points of view find expression and that the public interest is served.

B. We believe that history provides a valuable reservoir of material on the basic concepts of democracy for entertainment and education which has not been completely utilized. In the use of such material, however, it is urged that historical accuracy be preserved.

C. We recognize the responsibility of the citizen—individually

and collectively—to channel his desires and proposals for a more complete presentation of public issues to the management of press, radio, and motion pictures. Citizens and management must vigilantly insist upon the freedom of access to the use of these media.

D. We recognize a desire on the part of public-spirited management of these three media for help and guidance in the formulation of their plans, policies, and activities.

E. There is great need for dissemination of know-how as to sources and methods of using these media in schools, clubs, churches, and other community groups.

F. In conclusion, the group feels that the media under discussion by our group have tremendous power in the field of public information and opinion. Every effort must be made to help the management of these media to do the better job for the welfare of the future of our country and the world that the vast majority of them are conscientiously seeking to do.

II. Comments by Recorder.

A. This discussion group had some very interesting sessions. The fact that it did not produce a longer, more specific and satisfactory report was due to the following reasons:

1. The fact that the group was faced with the task of dealing with three media.

2. Because the amount of time simply was not great enough for adequate consideration of all three.

3. On account of the difficulty of getting agreement in a group which included representatives of radically different points of view.

B. There were, for example, varying shades of opinion regarding the manner in which citizenship obligations are being discharged by the mass media.

1. One opinion was that the great bulk of newspapers are straight-jacketed by commercial considerations and that news coverage is slanted in the direction of the particular philosophy of owners and managers.

2. Two other examples were the disagreements over the citizenship effect of children's radio programs, and editorializing on the radio.

C. The recorder would recommend that somewhat different arrangements be made in the area of mass media in future conferences. They are far too significant in the present social scene to be limited to the kind of consideration the group was able to give them in the time available.





D. The report as presented represents the thinking of the group only so far as majority agreement could be obtained.

E. The report is not nearly as strong, either pro or con, as individuals would have liked.

F. Many individual and minority points of view are not included at all.

*Whether one traces his Americanism back three centuries to the Mayflower or three years to the steerage is not half so important as whether his Americanism of today is real and genuine.*

—CALVIN COOLIDGE,
*Twenty-ninth President of the United States*

*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Members' Room, American Philosophical Society

*Chairman*

W. H. LEMMEL

*Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Delaware*

*Discussion Leader*

ROY SORENSON

*National Young Men's Christian Association*

*Recorder*

LAURENTINE COLLINS

*Detroit Board of Education, Division of School-Community Relations*

DELEGATES from the following eighteen organizations participated in the youth group: Allied Youth; American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation; American Association of Junior Colleges; American Legion; American Red Cross; Camp Fire Girls; Future Farmers of America; Girl Scouts; Grand Council of the Order of DeMolay; National Audubon Society; National Big Brother Association; NEA National Association of Secondary-School Principals; National Jewish Welfare Board; School District of Philadelphia; Temple University; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Young Men's Christian Association; Young Women's Christian Association. Those included youths as well as adult leaders.

I. What we did.

A. In the day and a half devoted to the concerns of youth, a variety of people from a variety of organizations worked earnestly and democratically together. The group of approximately thirty people made a brief survey of existing programs in widely representative fields. Even though this survey was inadequate and fractional, it did show the rich possibilities for citizenship education through dynamic youth organizations.

B. The group then spent time trying to define the purposes of the two-day meeting and their concepts of what comprises democratic citizenship. These concepts varied from the all-





inclusive one which says that what is good for anyone is good citizenship; a narrow one concerned primarily with civic or political democracy; and a third, resting in between, which would include some of the more recently accepted social and individual aspects of citizenship.

C. The group then moved on to an attempt to outline the critical factors in democratic citizenship for which knowledge, understanding, insight, and action are so vitally needed. A brief listing of these follows:

1. The intelligent election of leaders and their support thereafter.

2. A willingness to assume leadership, to take personal responsibility, and to discover ways of breaking down the apathy of the general public on problems of crucial and major concern.

3. Honest and forthright adult cooperation with youth.

4. The development of international understanding and cooperation.

5. The development of intergroup and intercultural understanding.

6. Cooperative planning and group action based on a realistic understanding of community needs.

7. Emphasis on political democracy and citizenship to the end of redeeming a constructive notion of politics and a realization that compromise is a dynamic democratic process.

8. Increased realistic cooperation between groups implying a willingness to change and to be flexible.

D. The group then outlined its concepts of the qualities of democratic citizenship. Four qualities were listed and discussed.

1. Respect for the dignity and integrity of human personality without regard to race, religion, nationality, or socio-economic status.

2. Concern for the welfare of the total group.

3. The use of the scientific method to solve crucial problems.

4. Freedom of speech.

E. In an attempt to practice the principles listed above, the group tried to use the twelve items as criteria against which programs might be evaluated. Two or three youth programs were described and an attempt made to do this critical evaluation. This approach was not too effective.

F. At the last session the following conditions under which citizenship education can be made most effective were listed:

1. Leadership on both the professional and volunteer levels should have clear purposes and objectives.

2. Programs should be realistic, sincere, and have obvious genuineness. Participants must have a clear understanding of the purpose of programs.

3. There should be breadth of opportunity for participation as well as intensive, highly selected aspects.

4. Programs should stress cooperation as well as leadership.

II. Evaluation of the Conference.

A. Significance.

1. There seemed to be an unspoken and deep-seated concern in the area of citizenship which brought people to this First National Conference.

2. There was an honest attempt to carry on with forthrightness and reality a good democratic process with spontaneity and mutual respect.

3. There was also a willingness to face problems, weaknesses, and limitations of programs realistically, objectively, and analytically.

B. Representation.

The youth group felt that in spite of the comparative shortness of time involved in the calling of the Conference, there should have been wider and perhaps better group representation. It was suggested that a topical cross section might be even more effective than the kind of representation under which the Conference was organized.

III. Recommendations.

A. All statements on citizenship or citizenship education should be sent to a committee for synthesis. The two areas of focus might be:

1. What are the basic qualities of democratic citizenship?

2. What are the critical, immediate goals?

B. The group recommends most respectfully that a resolution endorsing the principle of this First National Conference on Citizenship and requesting that they be conducted annually be presented at the Annual Meeting of the NEA in Buffalo in July.

C. The group recommends that:

1. There be a National Youth Conference on Citizenship in which there would be a sprinkling of adults.





2. A National Adult Conference on Citizenship in which youth would be represented.

a. These might be held closely in time so that there would be interaction and reciprocity between the two conferences.

D. It is suggested that the next conference focus around the practical discussion of successes and failures in the light of criteria developed at this First National Conference on Citizenship.

*William Carlin of the Coatesville, Pennsylvania, Chapter of the Future Farmers of America. Mr. Carlin was one of the several young people who ably represented youth organizations at The Citizenship Conference.*

*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Exhibit Room, Carl Schurz Foundation

*Chairman*

HARVEY SAUL
*Barrington Associates*

*Discussion Leader*

FRED S. HUTCHINS
*American Bar Association, Citizenship Committee*

*Recorder*

CLYDE RUSSELL
*Executive Secretary, Maine Teachers' Association*

DELEGATES from the following thirteen organizations participated in the occupational discussion group: American Bar Association; American Teachers Association; American Vocational Association; Barrington Associates; Civitan International; Congress of Industrial Organizations; National Association of Manufacturers; Federal Bar Association; NEA Committee on Citizenship; Temple University; U. S. Department of Agriculture; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; and U. S. Department of Labor.

I. What is an occupational group?

A. Defined. An occupational group is a body of individuals in common or allied occupations who have banded themselves together for the purpose of reflecting the influence of that occupation in the social group or in the body politic. As distinguished from other groups such as school, youth, home, community, church, etc., the occupational group reaches and influences individuals through their occupations or the common interests created through their jobs.

B. Occupational group opportunities in citizenship. The stability of occupational groups increases in proportion to the widened horizons of opportunity. The promotion of citizenship provides a medium for common good to balance the seeking of privilege which is the usual function of first interest to occupational groups in a manner that is not accessible to other groups.

C. Citizenship defined. For the promotion of good citizenship through the medium of occupational groups it is essential to have the goal clearly defined and uniformly understood. Citizenship is defined as follows: Citizenship is a status which signifies membership in the society of the people of the United States, which finds its members in mutual allegiance to their established government and to active interest in and support of the common welfare in home, community, and nation. It entitles the members to mutual protection in the freest exercise of individual liberty consistent with the common welfare.

D. Qualities of good citizens. The qualifications of a good citizen are defined as follows: A good citizen is an individual who recognizes his rights and the rights of others under law and actively exercises those rights for the common good. He is one who possesses initiative, character, and intelligence, resists unfounded propaganda and continues to grow and expand in his vision and practices.

II. Motivating good citizenship through occupational groups.

A. The need for the establishment of a central clearinghouse for the collection, compilation, cataloguing, and dissemination of information on current organized efforts in promoting good citizenship is immediately obvious and is recommended.

B. Through such a clearinghouse it is recommended that programs of citizenship promotion now being carried on by occupational groups be compiled and catalogued for reference and that the availability of this information be made known to encourage other occupational groups to initiate or to improve their programs in citizenship.

C. It is further recommended that a promotional group be established within the proposed clearinghouse to publicize the possibilities in citizenship activities with occupational groups. A part of the function of this promotional group will be to readapt ideas or create new ideas to help occupational groups to develop citizenship programs.

D. Also, it is recommended that this clearinghouse shall set up a research group to collect, interpret, and disseminate statis-

tical and other factual information that will serve to encourage increased citizenship promotions through occupational groups.

III. General observations.

A. The development of the good citizen begins in the home. The social environment, the church, the school all contribute to this development, or the delinquency in such development. The citizen becomes a part of the occupational group after these influences have been felt. Just how well or how poorly these other environments are conducted will determine how much or how little remains to be done by the occupational groups.

B. Present activities were considered, among them essay contests in schools, financing summer camps, awarding scholarships in college, sponsoring Boy Scout groups, the initiation of legislation—the juvenile court act in Rhode Island, for example—provision of speakers for community groups and various forms of surveys, institutes, forums, and community associations. There was no attempt at appraisal, though it was suggested that forums which are followed up systematically and directed professionally had the best chance of success.

C. Other influences upon citizenship which may be beyond the scope of occupational groups are such features as housing, health, unemployment, domestic confusion, and world disorders. However, through research and enlightenment, the occupational groups can help to find and correct some of the basic causes which interfere with good citizenship.

D. While it is highly desirable to have some degree of national uniformity of principles toward good citizenship, the most effective work will be achieved on the local level. It must be accepted as a community cause to be real and serve the common good.

E. The life of an individual in a democracy up to the point of entrance into an occupational organization has a broad base in philosophy and practice. At the point where the occupational organization takes over, there is a strong tendency to narrow the vision of the individual and to focus it upon the interests of the organization. It is not suggested that the original functions of occupational groups be curbed. Rather their functions should be broadened to embrace the higher purpose of serving the common good.

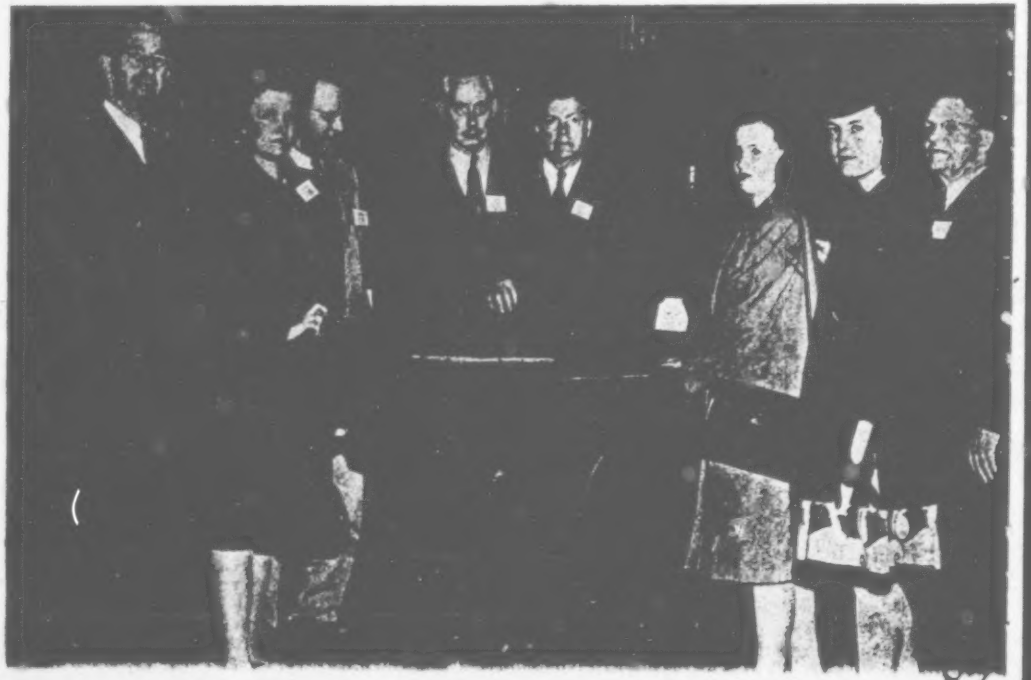




F. Working for a common cause such as good citizenship will provide a rallying issue for national unity and will serve to minimize issues of lesser importance about which factions may quarrel.

G. There is need for coordinating the ideas and activities of all groups and interests such as patriotic organizations, business and labor organizations, schools, home, churches, civic groups, and government agencies who engage in citizenship education to be sure that there is no overlapping or duplication of effort and also to be certain that all groups have the benefit of the best ideas and techniques for the advancement of good citizenship.

*A New Jersey delegation, with some of the Conference officials at the printing press in the Carl Schurz Foundation Exhibit Hall. Left to right: Everett C. Preston, Mary Gaver, Richard B. Kennan, Earle T. Hawkins, Ernest O. Melby, Mary Ellen LaDow, Marcie Thompson, and Burritt C. Harrington.*



*Conference Work Group*

## STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF PATRIOTIC, VETERANS, AND SPECIAL CITIZENSHIP ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHP

Summary of Three Sessions Held May 17 and 18, 1946, in the Club Room, American Philosophical Society

*Chairman*

LYMAN BRYSON

*Director of Education, Columbia Broadcasting Company*

*Discussion Leader*

RICHARD B. KENNAN

*Associate Secretary, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education*

*Recorder*

NOAH TURPEN

*Immigration and Naturalization Service, Research and Education Division*

DELEGATES from the following fifteen organizations participated in the patriotic group: American Philosophical Society; American Legion; American Legion Auxiliary; Bureau for Intercultural Education; Daughters of American Revolution; Encampment for Citizenship; Girl Scouts of America; Junior Red Cross; Kings Daughters and Sons of Pennsylvania; NEA Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education; National Society of Colonial Dames; Salvation Army; U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; U. S. Department of Agriculture (4-H Clubs); and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I. Report of activities.

A. The group chairman commented to the effect that the activities of groups such as those represented usually fall into two broad categories:

1. Supporting causes (exerting influence "for" or "against" measures).

2. Spreading ideas and ideals.

B. "It is usually of the latter one is thinking when he speaks of the 'program' of an organization." Members of the group were then called on to report on the citizenship activities of their respective organizations. Interesting reports were given in the following order, time being given for questions





and discussions as desired by members of the group:

1. Salvation Army.
2. American Legion.
3. Bureau for Intercultural Education.
4. Veterans of Foreign Wars.
5. Girl Scouts of America.
6. Junior Red Cross.
7. Encampment for Citizenship.
8. National Society of Colonial Dames.
9. Daughters of American Revolution.
10. American Legion Auxiliary.
11. Kings Daughters and Sons of Pennsylvania.
12. Department of Agriculture (4-H Clubs).
13. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

C. Reports were made on the citizenship program of the following organizations that were not officially represented in the group:

1. Manitowoc, Wisconsin.
2. World Understanding Foundation, Inc.

II. Some Problems and Issues.

A. Youth activities constitute a large portion of the programs reported. An analysis of the youth activities revealed that they fall roughly into three types:

1. Discussions of world problems about which the participants can do little or nothing.

2. Dramatizations such as "Model Legislature," "Boys State," and "Mayor for A Day."

3. Actual participation in the affairs that immediately concern youth and taking the consequences.

B. All were in agreement that more activities of the third type should be encouraged.

C. Most of the delegates present were concerned about the difficulty of obtaining young leadership. Some lamented the fact that young people just "don't want to be bothered" by assuming responsibility. After an attempt to analyze this difficulty it was agreed that the chief fault lies in the elders who are in positions of authority. Such leaders are seldom willing to share policy-making and decision-making functions with youth, but instead relegate them to the servile role of collecting waste paper and tin cans and similar "busy work." There is a crying need for complete sharing of responsibility and au-

thority with youth. Experience has demonstrated that when this is done youth comes through.

D. Several of the organizations represented present badges and medals as awards for citizenship activities. The issue was raised as to whether competitive awards contribute to building good citizenship. It was agreed that the competitive aspects of awards should be minimized; that they are justified only as awards for achievement.

E. The need for developing in all citizens a greater feeling of responsibility to vote and otherwise participate in civic affairs was stressed throughout the discussions. In this connection the importance of placing more emphasis on citizenship initiation activities, such as court induction ceremonies for candidates for naturalization and "Citizenship Day" or "I Am an American Day" observance for both the twenty-one-year-old and the naturalized citizen, was discussed. Someone objected to the use of "I Am an American Day" as a designation for the third Sunday in May on the ground that it has a somewhat bigoted connotation. There appeared to be agreement that "Citizenship Day" is a more suitable designation.

II. Formal Action.

A. The following matters received formal action of the group: Colonel Alfred C. Oliver, representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, read to the group the following statement for his organization:

*Today's World and American Citizenship in Relation to Our Citizen Army*

1. It is the consensus of public opinion that for the first time in the history of the United States a large peacetime army is a necessity. American tradition from the days of the founding of the nation has been opposed to a large professional army such as has existed in the old world, but today the United States finds herself committed to long periods of control of conquered peoples in foreign lands. This requires a vastly increased military force and demands the clearest kind of thinking by all Americans. If we are to maintain large groups of men on foreign soil, the danger is that they will return to their homes inoculated by an ideology which will be detrimental to the American way of life. Here is where the educators in America should enter the picture.

2. The affording of additional pay to join the military forces and enjoy a life of ease in the old army style is a stop-gap. It is not the answer to the problem in the best of American tradition.





3. The army needs educational programs that will tempt the young manhood of America because of the opportunity afforded by them to increase military efficiency and likewise the opportunity afforded to acquire an academic training in languages and technical skills that will enable the trainee to serve his country better when he goes back to civil life. Such a program would keep the army progressive in its thinking and would attract the type of men needed for an occupational force. During the recent war, training programs were established for all phases of military activities, and intensive training was provided with the object of winning the war. The same efforts directed towards making personnel more efficient in peacetime for military work as well as civil occupations and activities should certainly command the support of the nation and its youth.

4. A staff of specialists, either officers or civilian or a combination of both, should be organized at once to evolve such an educational program. The members of the staff should be trained educationalists, with wide experience in their particular fields. It is anticipated that two years of college work could be completed while in the army, either on-the-job training or by group study or a combination of both, and if this could be followed by two years of school work upon release from the army the ambitious serviceman could complete a college course in addition to having obtained valuable experience which will enable him to be an excellent officer candidate or an executive in international trade.

5. The training program should consist of on-the-job training and school training in the types of work now carried on by the military forces from the training of clerks and cooks to the training of radio engineers and atom bomb scientists. Where on-the-job training is offered such relative information as may be necessary to provide a better understanding of the theory and background of the subject should be offered. On-the-job training would include subjects on both the vocational and college levels. Specialized courses in history and political institutions of the various nations should be offered in order that the occupational forces may better understand the peoples with whom they are dealing, and special opportunity should be given for the study of languages. Throughout the course there should be instructions given as to the value of our own political institutions and way of life, in order that troops may be immunized against destructive ideologies.

B. After reading the above, Colonel Oliver distributed to the group mimeographed copies of the statement to which were appended copies of the following resolution:

1. *Whereas,* the members of the discussion group on patriotic organizations are in substantial agreement with the views set forth by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States in the attached article entitled "Today's World and American Citizenship in Relation to Our Citizen Army," now therefore be it

2. *Resolved,* by the National Conference on Citizenship, That: There be appointed a committee consisting of four (4) members of the National Education Association and three (3) of the representatives of patriotic organizations attending this Conference, to confer with the United States Army in the preparation of an educational training program to meet the unusual conditions which have arisen because of the large number of American soldiers now required, and who will be required, for army service in foreign lands.

C. The following resolution was considered and adopted by the group:

1. *Whereas,* the objectives of this resolution are held to be in harmony with the main purpose of the First National Conference on Citizenship, Philadelphia, Pa., May 17-18, 1946, now therefore be it

2. *Resolved,* by the National Conference on Citizenship, That: As an aid in the promotion of better citizenship through better world understanding among the youth of America, this Conference endorses the following two projects of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States:

a. *Historical Project.* Material will be furnished by Veterans of Foreign Wars posts in various communities throughout the nation, showing overseas service records and brief descriptions of the overseas experience of selected veterans whose material may be suitable and valuable; such material to be used in local high-school libraries as source material and as historical background in classes.

b. *Speakers Bureau.* Local Veterans of Foreign Wars posts to make available a group of speakers who will supplement history study by giving firsthand word pictures of conditions in foreign lands.

D. At the final session the following was adopted in the form of a recommendation: That the educational requirements for naturalization be strengthened to include the ability to read in English to the fourth grade level, and that candidates for naturalization be required to demonstrate a fair knowledge and understanding of the principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States.

E. All the above were adopted by unanimous vote of the delegates present when each was considered.



## RESOLUTION

offered at the closing session of the
First National Conference on Citizenship

Because of the benefits derived from the meeting of the many who are interested in and working for the development of more effective citizenship, and

Because of the team-play and coordinated effort that this Conference has started,

BE IT RESOLVED:

That we express our appreciation to and our commendation of the National Education Association for arranging this First National Conference on Citizenship, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That we express the hope that it will be possible for the National Education Association to continue this important service and to arrange another such conference next year.

Resolution offered by Dr. H. V. Holloway, Supt. of Schools
of Delaware, duly seconded, and unanimously passed
by the members of the Conference group.
Saturday, May 18, 1946

*There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says that he is an American, but something else also, is not an American at all.*

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
*Twenty-fifth President of the United States*

## HISTORICAL NOTE

ON TWO PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, national conventions on citizenship have been held in the United States. These were called by the federal government, through the Bureau of Naturalization, which was then a part of the U. S. Department of Labor, and were mainly intended to consider problems that were arising in the field of Americanization of the foreign-born.

The first of these "National Citizenship Conventions," as they were known, was held in Washington, D. C., in 1916. Addresses were given by President Woodrow Wilson; Philander P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education; and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor.

The second Citizenship Convention was held in Portland, Oregon, in 1917, in cooperation with the National Education Association which was holding its annual meeting in that city.

## CONFERENCE CRITERIA

IN CALLING THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP, the Committee in charge has had in mind from the beginning the following pertinent points:

*That* with the end of armed hostilities a reaction is likely to set in—has in fact already set in—leading to a lessening of the high interest in active citizenship and patriotic service strongly marked during a time of crisis;

*That* never before in the history of the world has it been so important to keep civic interest and participation at a high level;

*That* there are many leading national organizations which play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

*That* these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

*That* the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased many fold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

*That* there are practices, programs, and techniques which are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques which are of doubtful or negative value;





*That* there has never been a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

*That* there is often a tendency for sincerely interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

*That* there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs which have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

*That* the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs which have proved successful;

*That* it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in a conference representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the following concrete objectives:

1. To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world;
2. To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective;
3. To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

## THE WORK DISCUSSION GROUPS

In planning the Conference program, the Committee has provided general meetings at which delegates will have the opportunity of hearing outstanding leaders from many walks of life in America today. These leaders will undoubtedly stimulate their audiences to serious and constructive thinking.

But the Committee has also planned that this National Conference shall be a *work conference*—that the meetings shall not consist solely of listening to speeches, no matter how wise they may be; that opportunity shall be afforded for men and women of like interests, but varied backgrounds, to meet in smaller groups where they can clarify their thinking, present their problems, gain from the give-and-take of wisely guided democratic discussion, and together assist in developing criteria, plans, and programs which will lead to still more effective practices in citizenship.

In planning several sessions of the eight working groups the Committee

counted on two distinct contributions these group sessions could make to the success of the Conference:

First, *the process*—the providing of opportunities in small, informal gatherings for delegates to have ample opportunity to raise questions, compare and evaluate practices, and clarify their thinking, and

Second, *the product*—the probable emerging of specific suggestions and plans for action, which, printed in the Proceedings, could be of real value in suggesting, to the groups concerned, ways and means of carrying on more effective citizenship programs.

## OUTCOMES OF THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The Committee placed a great deal of faith in the outcome of the various work group discussions. It was felt that in general the Conference would succeed to the extent that the series of group meetings (a) really stimulated thought and (b) led to plans for effective action.

The Committee hoped that in all the group discussions proper consideration would be given to the three facets of effective citizenship: (a) knowledge, (b) emotion, and (c) action, each having its place in a well-rounded program designed to produce citizens who *know*, who *care*, and who *participate*. And this knowing, this caring, this acting come from citizens who realize that for every *liberty* there is a corresponding *loyalty*, for every *right* an accompanying *duty*, and for every *privilege* an obvious *responsibility*. They then realize full well that democracy cannot be passed down from father to son, that it has to be earned anew and learned anew by each generation.

## CONDUCT OF THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The sponsoring organization did not intend to prescribe the line of procedure to be followed in the various groups. Those responsible for the group discussions were carefully chosen and were people of wide experience who could be expected to know the best techniques for working with the discussion groups during the several periods assigned for group meetings.

The following questions are typical of the many that were raised by the Committee during the several months leading up to the Conference. They were not in any sense intended to be prescriptive or re-





strictive. They were merely indicative of questions which might be raised.

1. What are the qualities of a good citizen?
2. What are the criteria of a good citizenship program?
3. What are some of the most challenging problems facing citizenship in action today?
4. What are some significant successes in the way of programs promoting good citizenship?
5. What practices seem of doubtful value when their results are weighed against the effort required to carry them on?
6. How can civic leaders be encouraged to study effectively programs designed to promote good citizenship?
7. What are some effective ways of evaluating the success of citizenship programs?
8. How can we get interested groups to go about this business of developing citizenship in the most effective way without being so much concerned about who gets the proper credit?
9. How can the deliberations of the Conference be made available to the thousands of people interested in developing good citizenship?
10. How can the interest stimulated by this First National Conference on Citizenship be made part of a continuing program?

### THE BALLOT

*A weapon that comes down as still*
*As snowflakes fall upon the sod;*
*But executes a freeman's will,*
*As lightning does the will of God.*

—JOHN PIERPONT

# COMMITTEE ON APPRAISAL

CARL B. HYATT, *Chairman*

R. J. COLBERT — LUCY MASON HOLT
R. B. HANDY, JR. — HUBERT L. SEAMANS

DEMOCRACY holds the substance of the spiritual ideas and moral values that mankind has fashioned and striven for during the centuries of human history. Its heritage has found fullest expression in America. As never before in its history, America stands on the topmost heights where it can serve as an example to the world of the fulfilment of man's loftiest dream—a land of peace and justice and mercy to all.

It is significant, therefore, that 140 representatives of national organizations and government agencies dealing with some aspect of citizenship met in historic Philadelphia to emphasize the worth of United States citizenship. It was a milestone in democratic relations when people from such varied groups sat down like a family, with mutual respect for each other, to talk together in serious, frank, and free manner, about how the responsibilities of citizenship might best be discharged, especially as we return to the days of peace.

A national crisis always brings a resurgence of faith in the American way of life. Patriotism touches the hearts of men with a sense of universal kinship, and fills the earth with promise. But when the crisis is over, the lamp often burns low and the fulfilment of the hopes of free men vanishes into darkness.

The delegates to the Conference recognized that the ending of the recent armed hostilities finds a lessening of the high interest in active citizenship and patriotic service that so strongly marked our Nation during its time of crisis. Both discussants at the group meetings and speakers at the general sessions pointed out the need for an equally strong emphasis upon basic loyalties during peacetime, and for a concept of citizenship that embraces the welfare of all elements of our population.

Because of the complexity of democracy that, in the richness of its diversity, sometimes includes even a vagueness regarding the ways by which its principles may be achieved, it was felt that the Nation cannot afford to drift along with little thought and planning being given to the direction in which it is going.

It was realized, that if individuals and groups become absorbed in their personal and private interests to the exclusion of concern for the happiness





of all; that if conflicts, selfishness, carelessness, or complacency paralyze the working of our democracy; then neither the welfare of the individual, nor the general welfare of our country can be achieved. A melee of warring factions—racial, religious, political, or economic—will weaken rather than strengthen our American citizenship and render our democracy impotent. Running like a thread through all of the group discussions was recognition of the interdependence of one on another and of the need to accept differences among our peoples but to harmonize or compromise these differences whenever they become harmful to the democratic relations of the total group. As one of the groups emphasized: "Working for a common cause such as good citizenship will provide a rallying issue for national unity and will serve to minimize issues of lesser importance about which factions may quarrel."

Called together because of the grave evidences of disunity spreading throughout our land, and with little time for the preparation of agenda, this Conference was a challenge to future conferences to develop the loyalties of free men in harmony with the spirit of democracy. The ground has been plowed, but the tilling and reaping must be done. Through many fine recommendations and statements of idealistic objectives the Conference laid the ground work for further consideration and implementation by larger and still more broadly representative conferences to be held in the future.

The outstanding impression of the Conference is that representatives of leading civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups came together voluntarily to re-examine in realistic, objective, and analytical manner the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The delegates etched the pattern for future conferences on national, state, and local levels that augurs well for the future of America.

## GENERAL SCHEDULE OF SESSIONS

Thursday, May 16, 1946

6:30 p.m. Dinner for conference officials
Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

Friday, May 17, 1946

8:30 a.m. GENERAL SESSION—
Breakfast meeting, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

10:00 a.m. Special conference work groups

12:30 p.m. GENERAL SESSION—
Luncheon meeting, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

2:45 p.m. Special conference work groups

6:30 p.m. GENERAL SESSION—
Dinner meeting, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

9:00 p.m. Special conference work groups

Saturday, May 18, 1946

9:30 a.m. Special conference groups

12:30 p.m. GENERAL SESSION—
Luncheon meeting, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

3:00 p.m. GENERAL SESSION –
Exhibit Hall, Carl Schurz Foundation

7:00 p.m. GENERAL SESSION—
Dinner meeting, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

*America is another name for Opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race.*
—EMERSON



## CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

JULIAN C. ALDRICH, Associate Professor of Education, New York University, New York, N. Y.

MRS. SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER, *Associated Negro Press, United Council of Church Women,* 40 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. WILLIAM S. ALLEN, *National Society of Colonial Dames,* 1075 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

HOWARD ANDERSON, Division of Secondary Education, *U. S. Office of Education,* Washington 25, D. C.

PRESCO ANDERSON, Division of School Extension, *School District of Philadelphia,* 21st St. at Parkway, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

MRS. ROBERT ANGELO, *National Council of Catholic Women,* 85 Market St., Hellam, Pa.

ELLIS ARNALL, Governor of Georgia, Executive Offices, Atlanta, Ga.

LYLE W. ASHBY, *Division of Publications, National Education Association,* 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

MRS. EDWINA AVERY, *Woman's Bar Association of the District of Columbia, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice,* Franklin Trust Building, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

WILSON BADEN, *National Association of Manufacturers,* 14 W. 49th St., New York 20, N. Y.

JOSEPH H. BALL, U. S. Senator from Minnesota, Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.

MILLER BARBOUR, *American Association of Social Workers,* Wharton Settlement House, 1708 N. 22nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MELVIN W. BARNES, *Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice,* Franklin Trust Building, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

HOWARD BELL, Eastern Area Office, *American Red Cross,* Alexandria, Va.

CHARLES H. BOEHM, *Department of Rural Education, National Education Association,* Superintendent of Schools, Doylestown, Pa.

THOMAS C. BOUSHALL, *U. S. Chamber of Commerce,* President, Bank of Virginia, Richmond 16, Va.

LEROY BOWMAN, *Good Neighbor Federation,* 115 E. 106th St., New York 29, N. Y.

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### PLEDGE TO THE FLAG

*I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.*

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*Those who come here seeking the freedom, justice, opportunity, and human dignity they miss in their own countries are already Americans before they come.*

—KURT WEILL, Foreign-born American